

PASTIMES

The Context of Contemporary Leisure

7th Edition

Ruth V. Russell

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SAGAMORE VENTURE

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Preface

The purpose of this seventh edition of *Pastimes* is to extend the discussion about contemporary leisure to new concepts supported by the latest research findings and scholarly commentary. Throughout the book, I have pursued the most remarkable, relevant, moving, and current information possible at this writing. This is not at all difficult; leisure is simply a very intriguing subject.

First, as an introduction to the phenomenon of leisure, the book must be up to date. Momentous changes, actual and alleged, have always been the root of leisure expressions and experiences. In this edition, therefore, much of the content (including boxes and photos) is new. As well, all content has been updated when recent research findings, theories, and discussions in the literature were available.

Second, to be thorough, this new edition of *Pastimes* again reflects a wide range of material from the disciplines of leisure studies, sociology, psychology, economics, political science, history, anthropology, geography, the humanities, technology, and media and cultural studies. Further, new topics and sections have been included within these disciplines. For example, the discussion of leisure and the humanities now has its own dedicated chapter with the addition of the new topics of theatre and dance, along with music, literature, and art. Similarly, the history of leisure in different societies now has its own dedicated chapter with the discussion extended to include the Maya civilization.

Otherwise, the basic organization remains similar, but some concepts have been added and significantly broadened. For example, a discussion of immigrants has been added to the equity chapter, friendship to the health chapter, material culture to the anthropology chapter, and hobbies and social recreation to the leisure systems chapter. And, of course, the leisure and technology chapter has undergone a major revision to reflect the rapid changes in that area.

Third, as a learning tool, this seventh edition teaches more. It contains new illustrations of concepts through field-based cases, new biographical features, new exploratory and participatory activities, and new research study summaries.

More than a textbook, *Pastimes* is very much a point of view. It presents leisure as a human phenomenon that is individual and collective, vital and frivolous, historical and contemporary, factual and subjective, good and bad. Human life and its culture cannot be understood without understanding leisure. Leisure is a very complex subject, yet clearly worth knowing.

Ruth V. Russell
August 2019

Acknowledgments

This seventh edition of *Pastimes* is the result of what I have learned from years of engagement with leisure theory, research, and personal and professional practice. But it is also the result of gratefully received help from others. Indeed, throughout all seven editions, I have been indebted to many people: family, friends, students (at bachelor and doctoral levels), university and practitioner colleagues, and fellow recreation participants.

Most especially I wish to acknowledge the advice and coaching I received for this edition from Dr. Rasul Mowatt of Indiana University and Dr. Trish Ardovino of Winona State University. Both critiqued previous editions, sent relevant material, shared teaching strategies, and served as all-round sounding boards to changes I was contemplating.

I also wish to especially thank Pat Setser for assistance with the photo program for this edition and, based on a 35-year career in technology in industry, in public schools, and at the university level, for serving as coauthor of Chapter 9 on leisure and technology.

Thank you, everyone.

About the Author

Dr. Ruth V. Russell is professor emeritus in the Department of Recreation, Park, and Tourism Studies at Indiana University. She is a former trustee of the National Recreation and Park Association and has served as president of the Society of Park and Recreation Educators. Her professional experience includes the San Diego Recreation and Parks Department, San Diego-Imperial Counties Girl Scout Council, and Chateau La Jolla Retirement Center. Dr. Russell has authored (and coauthored) four textbooks—all published in multiple editions—and a cookbook. She has also published research in numerous refereed journals and lectured internationally. Presently, her pursuits include RVing, hiking, water volleyball, reading, zentangle, beading, and the culinary arts.



Part 1

Leisure as a Condition of Being Human: Personal Context

We are human in large part because of our leisure.

We begin our exploration of leisure by considering its significance for us personally. Leisure helps shape us as human beings—our identity, motives, feelings, and actions.

Chapter 1

Demonstrates leisure's meanings for us through the humanities – those art forms whose sole purpose is to portray humanity.

Chapter 2

Discusses benefits of leisure to us—those qualities that make us human, including our happiness, freedom, pleasure, and spirituality.

Chapter 3

Traces the ways leisure helps us grow, stay healthy, and age well.

Chapter 4

Offers definitions and explanations about our leisure choices and behaviors.

CHAPTER 1
The Humanities of Leisure

What is leisure?

Leisure is an intricate and dynamic concept with different meanings, depending on perspective.

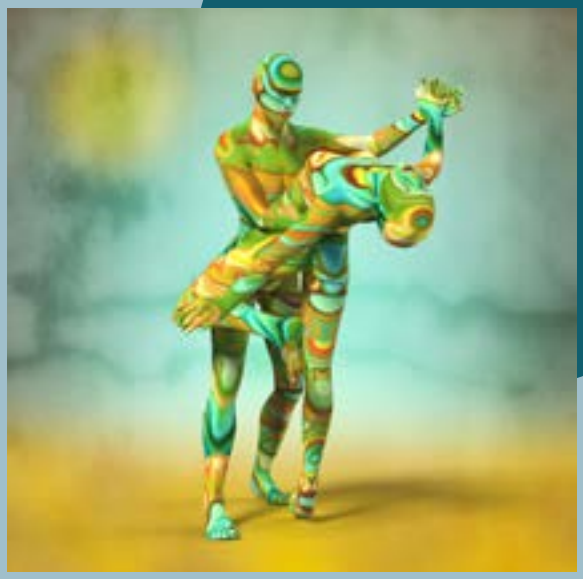
What are some of the perspectives on leisure's meaning?

There are many, and exploring them is the focus of this book.

In this chapter, we consider leisure's meanings from the perspective of the humanities.

Where do we find meanings of leisure in the humanities?

Perhaps leisure can best be understood through the ideas portrayed in a story, a song, a play, a dance, or a picture.



To have leisure is one of the oldest dreams of human beings: to be free to pursue what we want, to spend our time meaningfully in pleasurable ways, to live in a state of grace (Godbey, 2008, p. 1). Because leisure is a complex concept with different meanings depending on the people, the place, and the time, understanding it requires journeys to different peoples, places, and times. In this chapter, we set a foundation for understanding the humanness of leisure by exploring its essential meanings in the humanities.

Humanities: Human creations that describe human experience

The **humanities** can be described as the study of how people process and document the human experience. People use philosophy, literature, religion, political science, law, art, music, history, language, and other subjects to understand and record their world. All these are disciplines of memory and imagination, in that they tell us where we have been and help us envision where we might be going (American Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2013).

Through exploration in the humanities we learn about our world. We learn about the values of different cultures, about what goes into making a work of art, about how history is made. Studying the subjects of the humanities gives us tools to understand ourselves (Stanford Humanities Center, n.d.). For example, learning another language might help us gain an appreciation for similarities in different cultures. Contemplating a sculpture might make us think about how an artist's life affected her creative decisions. Reading a book might help us think about the meaning of love. And so forth.

During the Renaissance, the term *humanities* contrasted with *divinity* and referred to what is now called the classics, that is, the main areas of secular study. Today, the humanities subjects are more likely to be contrasted with the natural and social sciences and with professional training. Underlying this distinction is the method of study. In the humanities, the primary methods of study are critical, or speculative. For example, understanding a particular religion requires reflective assessment and critique. In the natural and social sciences (e.g., biology and psychology), on the other hand, the primary method of study is empirical—direct observation, measurement, or experience.

Essentially, studying the humanities is vital for learning how to be human. Some of these subjects, such as philosophy, history, and political science, we consider later in this book. However, in this chapter, we portion out the subjects of the arts. Within this category we interpret what it is like to be human via literature, paintings, music, theatre, and dance.

The word **art** comes from the same root as the word *artificial*, meaning something made by humans. In creating a song, songwriters portray their own experiences. So when we listen to their musical performance, we understand something about the experience of its creator. In these expressions are ideas, images, and words that serve as a self-reflection, telling us who and what we may be. As well, the arts introduce us to people we have never met, places we have never visited, and ideas that may have never crossed our minds.

Art: the expression of human creative skill and imagination

While exploring what the arts reflect about leisure through literature, paintings, music, theatre, and dance, we apply what is broadly called **art criticism**. Art criticism is the study, evaluation, and interpretation of the arts—most often a philosophical discussion of the goals and methods of art. This simply means our study and interpretation of the arts as they reflect leisure is based on the ideas of aesthetics and beauty as well as perception. Art criticism can be both objective and subjective, based on not only personal preferences but also social and cultural acceptance.

Art criticism: The evaluation of art on the basis of aesthetic as well as personal, social, and cultural perspectives for the purpose of appreciation

Literature

Literature, in the broadest sense, is the description of everyday life in written form. Typically found in magazine articles, greeting card verses, Internet blogs, game scripts, poetry, novels, and even this textbook, reading is itself a popular leisure expression. While this might surprise you, according to studies from the Pew Research Center (2018), Americans read an average of 12 books per year (across all formats). And the most popular genre of literature is children's books (Verrillo, 2017). For example, the Harry Potter book series (perhaps not just for children) has sold more than 500 million books worldwide (Pottermore, 2018; Figure 1.1).



Figure 1.1. A series of fantasy novels by British author J.K. Rowling were originally published in 1997 as *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*. The novels chronicle the lives of a young wizard, Harry Potter, and his friends. The books have found immense popularity, critical acclaim, and commercial success worldwide. Translated into 80 languages, the series also includes spin-offs such as films, traveling exhibitions, and several Universal Parks & Resorts amusement parks around the world.

Like a mirror, literature offers a view of human life itself, including of leisure. For example, American fiction writer F. Scott Fitzgerald wrote many short stories that tell us about the good-time culture of the 1920s. Labeled his "flapper stories," short stories such as "The Camel's Back" (Fitzgerald, 1920) glamorized the social life of the young:

> Now during the Christmas holidays of 1919 there took place in Toledo, forty-one dinner parties, sixteen dances, six luncheons, male and female, twelve teas, four stag dinners, two weddings, and thirteen bridge parties. It was the cumulative effect of all this that moved Perry Parkhurst on the twenty-ninth day of December to a decision. This Medill girl would marry him and she wouldn't marry him. She was having such a good time that she hated to take such a definite step. (Fitzgerald, 1920, p. 35)

A similar interpretation of the good-time culture of the 1920s comes from another American fiction writer: Toni Morrison. Setting the scene for the novel *Jazz* (1992), Morrison describes Harlem for Black people as permeated with the "thrum of music, robust language, Egyptian beads, doors ajar to speakeasies, and invitation to the low-down hellfire induction of music and sex" (O'Brien, 1992, para. 4).

In contrast, Maya Angelou's (1971) poem "Harlem Hopscotch" uses the rhythm of a children's street game to express a serious problem in society:

One foot down, then hop! It's hot.
Good things for the ones that's got.
Another jump, now to the left.
Everybody for hisself.
In the air, now both feet down.
Since you black, don't stick around.
All the people out of work,
Hold for three, then twist and jerk.
Cross the line, they count you out.
That's what hopping's all about.

Both feet flat, the game is done.
They think I lost, I think I won. (p. 100)

In the poem, Angelou uses the game of hopscotch to vent frustration and a sense of betrayal. Although about the injustices of race and social class, the poem makes light of it by putting it into the rhythm of a classic children's pastime. Or does it? What do you think is meant by the game's outcome in the last line: "They think I lost, I think I won"?

Art

Not only is leisure commonly depicted in art, but across the centuries, it has also been the motive for entire artistic movements. To trace a bit of this, we begin with its inclusive concept: **genre art**. Genre art includes paintings, prints, and photographs that depict everyday life. With the decline of religious and historical painting, beginning in the 19th century artists increasingly found their subject matter in the life around them. Leisure-relevant subjects of genre art have included banquet scenes, parties, cafes, marketplaces, street scenes, and specific leisure activities, such as dancing, reading, and hunting.

Genre art: The pictorial representation of everyday life. The representations may be realistic, imagined, or romanticized by the artist

For example, in the mid-1800s in the United States, Nathaniel Currier and James Ives headed up a printmaking firm that produced many genre pictorial works promoting outdoor activities, including depictions of the newly popular pastime of ice-skating. In England, a popular genre painter at the time was William Powell Frith, who was a chronicler of Victorian life at the horse races and at the seaside. As well, Japanese ukiyo-e prints, a genre that culminated in the 19th century, were rich in depictions of people at leisure (including erotica).

Impressionism: An artistic style, originating in France in the 1860s; characterized by the visual depiction of a feeling or experience of the moment, especially through the shifting effect of light and color

Perhaps the pictorial artistic movement that best depicts genre art is **Impressionism**. Impressionism art is a style (and method) in which the artist captures the image of an object as someone would see it if they caught only a brief glimpse of it. Impressionist paintings can be distinguished by their bright and vibrant color. Drawing inspiration from the pastimes of Parisians in France, some of the best-known impressionist artists were Édouard Manet, Camille Pissarro, Edgar Degas, Alfred Sisley, Paul Cézanne, Claude Monet, Berthe Morisot, and Pierre-Auguste Renoir.



Figure 1.2. Mary Cassatt. *Woman in Black at the Opera*. 1879. Source: The Hayden Collection. Courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

For example, Mary Cassatt, an American who also exhibited with the French Impressionists, painted *Woman in Black at the Opera* (Figure 1.2). In Paris at the time everyone went to the opera. It was the place to see and be seen. Women, knowing they would be looked at, would wear lots of jewelry and dresses that showed only the appropriate amount of skin. Men would wear black to disappear within the opera box so they could look without being seen. In Cassatt's painting, a kind of joke is being played on this pastime. Viewed in profile, the woman looks intently through opera glasses at the stage. Her fan is held sternly as though it is a weapon.

She is there to see the play. Yet the man across the way is leaning far over the balcony and using his opera glasses to gaze at the woman (Art History of the Day, 2011).

Box 1.1
Web Explore

Romanticism

Another artistic tradition that provides an interpretation of leisure's meaning is Romanticism. While Impressionism suggests leisure is a daily life dominated by theatres, operas, cafes, gardens, and racetracks, Romanticism suggests something different. What is this? Begin by exploring the Web for both images and interpretations of the landscape paintings of Caspar Friedrich, Thomas Cole, and J. M. W. Turner. Search "Romanticism and nature and emotion" for clues.

While genre painting is most typically represented in the 19th century, there are also important samples in the 20th century. For example, Edward Hopper's *Nighthawks* (Figure 1.3) is a 1942 oil on canvas that portrays people in a downtown diner late at night. Because it is so widely recognized, the image has served as the model for many homages and parodies in art since. For example, in 1984, artist Gottfried Helnwein's painting *Boulevard of Broken Dreams* replaces the three Hopper patrons with American pop culture icons Humphrey Bogart, Marilyn Monroe, and James Dean.



Figure 1.3. Edward Hopper's *Nighthawks*, 1942. Source: edwardhopper.net

Music

Music is perhaps the most universal human activity. Beginning as the natural sound of the voice, music over the centuries has taken many forms and reflected many ways of life. Indeed, the paramount role of music in life and culture has the deepest of roots. Plato and Aristotle wrote of its centrality to the formation of noble human beings and of civilized society. Newton and Shakespeare saw the universe ideally in terms of the harmony of the spheres (Meacham & McGraw, 2019). Even George Washington, considered the "father" of the U.S., gave these orders on June 4, 1777, before years of revolutionary battle: "Nothing is more agreeable . . . than good music; every officer, for the credit of his corps, should take care to provide it" (Meacham & McGraw, 2019, p. 4).

Today, people in Western cultures express their humanity through jazz, rock, soul, blues, country, rap, gospel, classical, bluegrass, Latin, lounge, holiday, and many other musical styles. In fact, through the purchase of CDs, ringtones, digital downloads, music videos, and other musical recordings, the music industry in the U.S. in 2018 was a $4.6 billion industry (mostly via streaming sources; Recording Industry Association of America, 2018).

All forms of music reflect leisure's meanings, but as an initial illustration, we'll consider rock and roll, and Elvis Presley in particular, who remains rock's most indelible image. In Elvis, millions of young people found more than a new entertainer; they found themselves, or at least an idealized version of themselves, which stood in stark, liberating contrast to the repressed atmosphere of the 1950s.

What was this new identity? In Elvis' "Hound Dog" and the flip side's "Don't Be Cruel," the highest selling single record of that decade, we find a summary of how Elvis' rock and roll represented young people and their leisure of that time. While the straight rock of screaming guitars and drums in "Hound Dog" emphasizes a wild and raucous sound, a light beat and gentler accompaniment in "Don't Be Cruel" highlights a sweet melody and lyrics. This makes for a big difference between the sexually aggressive and the playfully innocent. Thus, like the two sides of this one record, youth of the 1950s were bumping, although timidly, against the outer edges of a sort of rebellion.

Comparing this image of leisure for young people from the 1950s with a popular music genre beginning in the 1980s provides some different contrasts. Rapping is a form of vocal delivery that incorporates rhyme, rhythmic speech, and street vernacular—usually with an instrumental backbeat. It is a primary ingredient of hip-hop music, but its origins predate this. The earliest precursor to contemporary rap is the West African griot tradition, in which oral histories were spread through rhyme. Often characterized as having a potential for political advocacy, today's rap can perhaps be traced to Afro-American rhyming games as forms of resistance to systems of slavery (Blanchard, 1999).

While there are multiple types of rap music (i.e., gangsta, East Coast, battle, mumble), a specific example in the lyrics of the metal-rap group Gang of Four gives us a glimpse of leisure as consumerism:

The problem of leisure
What to do for pleasure
Ideal love a new purchase
A market of the senses
Dream of the perfect life
Economic circumstances
The body is good business
Sell out, maintain the interest

("Natural's Not in It," 1979)

Box 1.2
The Study Says

Rap Lyrics

In a recent study, researchers examined the lyrics in the songs of rap musicians. The Facebook posts of favorite lyrics from a panel of 600 self-professed lovers of rap were compared to the lyrics in the tracks from the Billboard Top 100 list, which is made up of rap musicians with traditional record company backing and promotion. It was found that the songs shared on Facebook contained more "pro-social" lyrics—they more frequently promoted positive themes such as gratitude, faith and spirituality, community building, the power of education, and political engagement. The lyrics of the traditional record company–distributed songs, in contrast, leaned toward more "antisocial" themes, including aggression, criminal activity, derogatory language about women, references to illegal drug use, and materialism.

Source: Epps & Dixon, 2017

Theatre

Theatre is a collaborative form of art that uses live performers to present the experience of a real or imagined event or situation before a live audience. The performers may communicate the experience through combinations of speech, gesture, song, music, and dance. The art forms of ballet and opera are also theatre and use many in-common conventions such as acting and staging. The visual arts are likewise brought into play with painted scenery, lighting, costumes, and stagecraft. The specific place of the performance is also named by the word *theatre*.

The types of theatre are usually categorized as drama, musical, comedy, tragedy, and improvisation. Each category can be subcategorized. For example, the comedy form includes slapstick (physical), farce (ridiculous situations), satire (mocking), black humor (makes fun of serious subjects), and others. The improvisation form, or improv, often results in a comedy. Improv is where what is performed is unplanned and unscripted. It is created collaboratively and spontaneously by the performers.

Box 1.3 What Do You Say?

Protest Theatre

"Protest Theatre" refers to any type of theatre that is utilized to protest political and economic inequities and social ills. It includes a variety of approaches, from ambiguous political plays and plays of testimony to highly militant plays aimed at inciting revolt and action. It has also been labeled political theatre, theatre of defiance, theatre for resistance, and theatre as weapon.

Theatre has long been used as a means of expressing and communicating injustice and exploitation by those in power. Because of the nature of intense and intimate live contact, theatre can be a more potent form of protest than books or visual art. An example might include Henrik Ibsen's "Doll's House," which argues against women's subservient position in society. Some scholars also consider some of the plays by Shakespeare to be illustrative of protest theatre. For example, "Macbeth" dramatizes the lust for power in political leadership that crushes human beings.

1. While theatre might be able to articulate pressure toward social change, can theatre "cause" a social change? Why or why not?
2. Above all, perhaps, theatre can be the way people find their voice, their solidarity, and their collective determination. Does this mean leisure can be a force in activism?
3. What might be both the upside and downside of protest theatre? Have you seen any plays in this genre? How did you feel afterward?

The word *theatre* is derived from the ancient Greek, meaning a place for viewing, as well as to watch, to observe. Also, from ancient Greece are derived the theatrical genres of tragedy, comedy, and satyr—a form of burlesque (Pavis, 1998). In fact, Greek theatre, as mostly developed in Athens, is considered the root of the Western theatre tradition. In ancient Greece, theatre included festivals, religious rituals, music, poetry, weddings, funerals, and even politics and law (Goldhill & Osborne, 2004).

Since classical Athens in the 6th century BC, vibrant traditions of theatre have flourished in cultures around the world (Goldhill, 1997). For example, the earliest form of Indian theatre was called Sanskrit theatre. It emerged sometime between the 2nd century BC and the 1st century. A classical Sanskrit drama uses two languages: Sanskrit and Prakrit (Baumer & Brandon, 1993). It uses stock characters, such as the hero, heroine, or clown. Sanskrit is the ancient language of India, and later it became the language of high culture, including in literature, poetry, and theatre. During this early time, hundreds of plays were

written (Richmond, Swann, & Zarrilli, 1993). Although very ancient, many of these plays established foundations that have influenced Indian culture for millennia.

Over these 2,500 years since, theatre has evolved into a wide range of ideas and practices. As already mentioned, some are related to political or spiritual ideologies, while others are intended to be based purely on "artistic" concerns. For example, some contemporary theatre focuses on a story, some on theatre as event, and some on theatre as catalyst for social change. Regardless, the art of theatre is essentially one of make-believe, or **mimesis**. However, in every theatrical performance there also must be realism to some degree. Here are two examples of this dual role of imagination and realism: the plays "The Cherry Orchard" and "Leisure, Lust, and Labor."

Mimesis: Representation or imitation of the real world in art and literature; another term for mimicry

Anton Chekhov's play "The Cherry Orchard" was first produced at the Moscow Art Theatre in 1904. Chekhov described the play as a comedy, with some elements of farce. However, the director Konstantin Stanislavski treated it as a tragedy. Since then, directors have contended with this dual nature. The play is about an aristocratic Russian landowner who returns to her family estate (which features a large and famous cherry orchard) just before it is auctioned to pay the mortgage. As the sale to a former serf is being completed, the play ends with the sound of the cherry orchard being cut down. Is this a tragedy or a comedy? The story presents the themes of aristocracy, the bourgeoisie, and newfound materialism in dramatizing the socioeconomic forces in Russia at the turn of the 20th century, including the rise of the middle class. What is the leisure reflection in this story?

Much later, another play further illustrates the dueling role of realism and imagination and the tug between ideology and art in theatre. Written by Sara Farrington, "Leisure, Labor, Lust" is a three-part triptych presented in one performance (Figure 1.4). Opening in 2018 at The Tank (theater) in New York City, it is, critics have concluded, about everything America was and still is, cleverly disguised in a corset and gown (Regina, 2018). Set in turn-of-the-century New York, and exploring topics rare to American theatre, each part of the triptych portrays each word in the title. For example, the "leisure" part takes place in the boudoir of an independently wealthy novelist. It is about a lavish dinner party and the etiquette of the proper type of stationery. Does this reflection of leisure share that of "The Cherry Orchard"? Intertwined into this is a portrayal of the horrors of mental illness and immigrant lives, as well as a gothic-style gay romance.



Figure 1.4. Scene from the play "Leisure, Labor, Lust" by Sara Farrington, performed at The Tank in New York City. Source: Broadway World, 2018 (https://www.broadwayworld.com/off-off-broadway/article/Sara-Farringtons-LEISURE-LABOR-LUST-To-Play-The-Tank-20180306).

Dance

Dance is an art form created from human movement. This movement has aesthetic and symbolic value to understanding the culture within which it is expressed. Thus, we could describe and categorize dance in different ways—according to its choreography, certainly, but also according to its historical period or its place of origin. Overlaying this, one important distinction is that there are basically only two contexts of dance: performance and participatory.

Performance dance, also called theatre or concert dance, is usually performed by expert and even professional dancers. It is often accompanied by music, costumes, and scenery. Typically, its purpose is to tell a story or interpret a human idea or situation. Examples of performance dance include ballet and contemporary dance. Performance dance can also be incorporated into musical theatre and opera.

Box 1.4 In Profile

Interpreting Contemporary Dance

Dance has often been described as that art form that disappears as soon as it is created. Perhaps the best illustration of this is contemporary dance. What does this form of dance produce? What does this dance form interpret about being human?

Contemporary dance is a type of dance performance that developed during the mid-20th century and is particularly popular in the U.S. and Europe. Usually performed by trained dancers, originally it borrowed from classical, modern, and jazz dance styles. As well, elements from African dance (i.e., bent knees) are often incorporated in the choreography. It does not follow any strict rules as in ballet, but instead focuses on flow of movements to express emotions and stories. It is a very present-tense experience that addresses the time in which it is being made.

In addition to being performed on stage for live audiences, contemporary dance is also used regularly in pop music videos and on talent search television shows. Why? What does it mean? Like the interpretation of a painting or a sculpture, the interpretation of contemporary dance requires first losing yourself in the emotion and then thinking about the story.

Many examples are available on YouTube. For example, search for the work of these current contemporary dance creators and discuss with classmates what you think they are saying about being human:

- Lloyd Newson
- Rafael Bonachela
- Shobana Jeyasingh

Participatory dance, on the other hand, usually carries a recreational motive. Folk dance, social dance, line dancing, square dancing, Western swing, and other forms usually support a social interaction or exercise purpose. Some forms of social dance require a partner (e.g., the waltz or a salsa dance), while other forms are enjoyed in a circle, square, or line (e.g., square dancing). Social dancing can be further subcategorized according to its origin, such as the hora from the Balkan countries and clogging from Ireland and Appalachia.

Other forms of human movement are sometimes dance-like in their quality. For example, martial arts, gymnastics, cheerleading, figure skating, synchronized swimming, and other forms of athletics contain the use of dance movements and interpretations.

What We Understand About Leisure's Meaning in the Humanities

Leisure is a complex concept. To understand its varied meanings, in this chapter we explored definitions from the perspective of the humanities. Other humanities subjects could also be used to see leisure's reflection, but after studying this chapter, you should know the following about the humanities category of the arts:

- Leisure is contextual. That is, its meaning depends on the place, the time, and the people. One context is the humanities.
  How are the humanities in general uniquely able to reflect leisure's meanings?
- Literature, art, theatre, dance, and music offer interpretations of leisure as integral to the human experience.
  Give an example of five different interpretations, one each from literature, art, theatre, dance, and music.

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CHAPTER 2

Why Leisure Is Vital

Is it important to have fun?

Even though we may casually think of leisure as "just having fun," philosophers, scientists, theologians, physicians, and educators take the matter quite seriously.

What do we gain from leisure?

Leisure is important because it gives us freedom, intrinsic reward, happiness, pleasure, play, humor, relaxation, ritual, solitude and silence, commitment, spirituality, risk, and other benefits.

Does leisure provide all these benefits?

For any single leisure expression or event, some of these benefits result, yet not usually all of them. In a different leisure experience, another set of benefits may result.



Are you having fun? Although this may seem a trivial question, much of our life is spent in pursuit of a good time. And while just having fun is often what we casually think of when considering leisure, almost everyone wants it. Why? What is it that makes leisure so coveted? That is, what are the qualities of leisure that make us human? This book can be viewed as a treatise on the benefits of leisure, but in this chapter, we consider directly and specifically the nature of leisure by characterizing its expression. We focus on the variety of ways it is of value to us.

Freedom

Foremost, leisure makes us feel free. We are having fun when we freely choose what we are doing. In fact, scholars suggest leisure cannot exist at all when our freedom to choose is curtailed. Some refer to this leisure quality as "uncoerced behavior" (Stebbins, 2005, p. 350). Uncoerced, we feel we are doing something we are not pushed to do. That is, as humans we have free agency for the leisure in our lives. And leisure is that life sphere that we can exclusively count on to experience without coercion.

There are two understandings of freedom in leisure. These are the distinctions between leisure as freedom "from" and leisure as freedom "to." First, leisure is temporary freedom from the necessary routine of life. That is, leisure frees us from obligations and provides a relief from work, such as when we take a vacation. Leisure as freedom "from" is considered a less satisfying experience because it carries the connotation that we must first earn leisure, such as through work. For example, is leisure as freedom "from" possible for someone retired from a paying job?

Leisure as freedom "to," on the other hand, is considered more satisfying because it focuses on our free choice to experience a particularly personal leisure act. This means leisure can enable truly fulfilling possibilities. How, then, do we acquire more leisure as freedom "to" in our lives? According to the investigations of Bregha (1991), this kind of freedom in leisure is a matter of

- possessing personal qualities,
- having the means, and
- receiving permission.

First, freedom "to" in leisure requires that we have the knowledge, physical ability, personality, and other personal qualities required for a successful experience (Figure 2.1). This means that having information about what is available, as well as knowledge about oneself, including the consequences of our actions, is necessary for experiencing leisure as freedom "to." For example, you cannot choose to go sculling if you do not know how to locate a boat, oars, and a waterway; or if you do not understand your own physical and mental readiness for it; or if your personality is contrary to the actions required. This means to experience leisure "to" we need the ability to choose with intelligence and responsibility.



Figure 2.1. Many societies have developed accommodations for persons with disabilities so that everyone is able to express the freedom "to" qualities in leisure. © Ruth V. Russell, 2016.

Second, for Bregha (1991) leisure involves having means. Throughout history, wealth has always been considered a factor in experiencing leisure. In fact, during the 19th century in Western cultures, the wealthy were tagged "the lei-

sure class" because they had the means for it. This link still exists today, as many forms of recreational activity require expensive fees, equipment, clothing, transportation, and instruction. For example, with a 1-day at-the-gate admission price of $99.99 (as of 2019), is SeaWorld in Orlando equally accessible to everyone?

Finally, the ability to freely choose leisure requires permission. Because few forms of leisure, except perhaps daydreaming and contemplation, can be experienced without at least the passive consent of our family, neighbors, or civic authorities, leisure expressions require sanction from others. For example, there are city ordinances against making too much noise at an outdoor party, restaurants are open only at specific times, and we must have prior permission from the owner to jog on private property.

So it is possible to conclude that leisure is perhaps our most precious expression of freedom. Yet while it affords us freedom to choose, our choices require capability, means, and authority. In other words, leisure's freedom is qualified. There are often subtle hedges against freely chosen leisure for us all. For example, the leisure acts we choose are at least in part prescribed by our friends, family, and culture. And, in some situations, leisure choices must follow along such distinctions as gender, ethnicity, social class, and social inequality. We'll address these, as well as the concept of leisure constraints, in a later chapter.

Intrinsic Meaning

Another often considered basic value from leisure is intrinsic meaning, or intrinsic reward (Kelly, 2009). Intrinsic meaning comes from doing something for its own reason—that is, "liking the doing" (Locke & Schattke, 2018, p. 2). Cross-country skiers, for example, often exclaim about sensations of peacefulness while gliding along; potters typically value working with clay on the wheel because of the elastic and smooth response of the clay in their hands; and dancers have described dancing as moving to a rhythm within (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975). Having fun, then, can also mean experiencing something for its own sake—for the joy and personal fulfillment of it.

What are the underlying factors of intrinsic meaning in leisure? Some scholars have concluded that the three psychological needs of autonomy, competence, and relatedness to others are fulfilled when a pastime provides for intrinsic reward (Ryan & Deci, 2000). For example, in a study by Walker (2010), participants reported what activity they were doing, their motivation for it, the competence they felt, and the sense of autonomy in the activity when they were beeped randomly once every 2 hours, 7 times a day, for 12 days. They were also asked to designate whether they considered the activity to be leisure or nonleisure. It was found that the possession of a personal sense of autonomy and competence fostered intrinsic motivation in leisure.

Another way we can view this is that while intrinsic meaning describes the leisure value of doing something for its own sake, extrinsic meaning is the consequence of engaging in a pastime for reasons other than its own. For example, if we sign up for a group exercise class because we want to lose weight, not because we want to experience the exhilaration of moving our bodies, we do so for extrinsic rewards. In this case, our motivation is from the outside rather than from within us. This means that the opposite of leisure is obligation (Cordes, 2013).

The leisure quality of intrinsic meaning behaves in often unexpected ways. For example, research has demonstrated (see Lepper, Greene, & Nisbett, 1973) that intrinsic motivation can be turned into extrinsic motivation even in leisure if extrinsic rewards such as prizes are emphasized. Also, some studies have suggested generational differences in the quality of intrinsic meaning in leisure, as well as work (e.g., see Rudolph & Zacher, 2018), while other studies have pointed to gender distinctions (e.g., see Iso-Ahola, 1979).

Happiness

Another benefit often available to us from our leisure is happiness. Also known as subjective well-being, high morale, life satisfaction, and positive life attitude, happiness is a general indicator of overall contentment with life. It is an internal condition achieved when we reflect on our life experience and judge it as good. According to multiple polls, the citizens of the Nordic region of the world are among the happiest in the world (see Box 2.1). What makes them so happy? What is happiness? We answer these questions from three perspectives: classical philosophies, research studies, and currently popular ideas.

Box 2.1
By the Numbers

Rank Order of Happiest Countries

1. Finland
2. Norway
3. Denmark
4. Iceland
5. Switzerland
6. Netherlands
7. Canada
8. New Zealand
9. Sweden
10. Australia

(Germany = 15th, United States = 18th, United Kingdom = 19th, Japan = 54th, Russia = 59th, China= 86th)

Source: Helliwell, Layard, & Sachs, 2018.

Thinking about what happiness is and asking questions about how to have it have occupied philosophers for hundreds of years. Explanations have ranged from happiness being free from worldly interest (Avicenna, 980–1037) to satisfying a wish (Schopenhauer, 1788–1860). To Aristotle, the question was, how should the good life be lived? His answer was that a flourishing life comes from **eudaimonia**, which most translations today interpret as happiness or personal well-being (Sylvester, 1991). Unlike today's common understanding of happiness as an inner good feeling, via eudaimonia Aristotle meant something else. Eudaimonia was not determined by positive feelings, but rather by good actions. Thus, for life and leisure to bring happiness, it must entail only moral and worthy activities, or unhappiness results.

Eudaimonia: Aristotle's idea of happiness; doing good things provides the good life

In even stronger syncopation with Aristotle, Kant (1781) suggested we should not have happiness as our highest goal if it keeps us from doing the right thing. Ultimately, he argued, not doing the right thing destroys our happiness. Contrastingly, B. Russell (1968) focused on how to avoid unhappiness. For example, he considered competition, boredom, fatigue, and envy as the causes of unhappiness, while the cure for unhappiness was zest in life.

Over the years, scientists have carried out hundreds of studies seeking to answer the question of what makes us happy. A vast amount of data suggests correlations between happiness and various genetic, social, economic, and personal factors. Some have predicted, for example, that age is important—younger people and older people are happier than middle-aged people. Some studies have suggested women are happier than men and that having good health makes one happy. Having friends and family, enough money, a good education, a meaningful career, helpful coping strategies and life goals, a creative and nurturing personality, an optimistic or extroverted temperament, and even a genetic predisposition toward a positive attitude have all been connected in research studies to happiness (Kovacs, 2007).

Genetics, really? Lyubomirsky (2007) concludes in her book *The How of Happiness* that 50% of a given human's happiness level is genetically determined (based on twin studies), 10% is affected by life

circumstances and situation (e.g., housing, marital status, and income), and the remaining 40% of happiness is subject to self-control. If this is so, then what is the role of leisure within the 40% sector?

Numerous studies have also focused on leisure's role. For example, in one study adolescents revealed their emotional high points were on Fridays and Saturdays, with their moods dropping on Sundays and staying low the rest of the week (Larson & Richards, 1998). The researchers explained this as the distinction between adult structured time (Sunday through Thursday) and teen structured time (Friday and Saturday).

In another study (Putnam, 2000), the role of specific forms of leisure in adult happiness was examined. Results suggested attending club meetings, volunteering to help others, entertaining at home, and attending church regularly were related to higher levels of happiness. However, the researchers also discovered a diminishing return—doing too many of these activities often reduced happiness.

In a study about vacations by Nawijn (2012), findings indicated unsurprisingly that vacationers are happier than nonvacationers and that vacationers feel much better during vacation compared to everyday life. Surprisingly, however, was that people returned to their baseline of happiness immediately after returning from vacation, and vacation happiness did not impact overall life satisfaction. The researcher concluded that perhaps the idea of travel—its anticipation—is more appealing than the actual trip.

The clearest link between leisure and happiness is via the concept of **leisure satisfaction** (see Kuykendall, Boemerman, & Zhu, 2018). Leisure satisfaction is our perception of how satisfying our leisure experiences and expressions are. Several studies have found, for example, that experiencing leisure with an optimistic outlook, meaningful focus and commitment, a lot of perceived freedom and intrinsic reward, and a belief in being capable in the leisure event determine happiness (Kovacs, 2007). Contrastingly, boredom and distress with leisure are negatively related to happiness (Lepp, 2018).

Leisure satisfaction: Gratification and contentment with one's leisure experiences and opportunities



Figure 2.2. The use of saunas is a national pastime in Finland, and many homes have their own private sauna. Helsinki's Hartwall Arena has VIP boxes that are equipped with saunas. That way you can sweat while watching an ice hockey match or large concert. Source: Core77.com

What about the residents of Finland? Why are they so happy? In the *World Happiness Report* (Helliwell et al., 2018; see Box 2.1 again), numerous factors are evaluated and compared. These include healthy life expectancy, environmental vulnerability, social support, freedom, absence of corruption, generosity, and "leisure and personal care." This category highlights the role of activities such as walking, sports, entertainment, cultural activities, socializing, and gardening (Figure 2.2). For example, Finnish people are enthusiastic sport participants, with 1 in 4 belonging to a sports club. The most popular recreational activities are active ones, including walking, cycling, jogging, hiking, ice-skating, swimming, and skiing. Hiking and camping are allowed in almost all of Finland, where everyone has the right of access to nature under the Everyman's Right law (the right to roam).

Pleasure

In most characterizations of leisure, pleasure is included. Listening to a well-performed orchestral piece, eating a handful of popcorn, petting the dog—these are all forms of pleasure, and all provide value to our lives. Indeed, it is thought that to be human is to be pleasure-seeking—that our brains are hardwired to be motivated by pleasure (Esch & Stefano, 2004).

Pleasure is difficult to distinguish from other leisure benefits. For example, pleasure has been described as a feeling of happiness and as a sense of freedom. We will tease out some distinctions by first relying again on ancient Greek ideas, and then more recent typologies of the various kinds of pleasure resulting from leisure.

To the ancient Greeks, pleasure had multiple connotations (Goodale & Godbey, 1988). Cynicism, for example, suggested virtue that comes from living in harmony with nature, rather than pleasure, was life's goal. In contrast, the ancient idea of stoicism suggested people should be indifferent to both pleasure and pain. Even today stoics accept good fortune without joy and misfortune without complaint—"You win a few, you lose a few!" But the two ancient ideas of Epicureanism and hedonism are what we most often associate with pleasure today. Epicureanism holds that pleasure should be experienced in moderation, and that the best pleasures are intellectual—such as contemplation and appreciation. According to Epicurean understanding (based on the philosophy of Epicurus), the inferior pleasures respond to the senses, such as sexual drives and hunger. Hedonism, on the other hand, suggests pleasure is the highest goal of life. Ancient followers of hedonism included the body, fame, power, and wealth as sources of pleasure.

All of these ancient Greek perspectives about pleasure have influenced contemporary ideas about leisure as pleasurable. For example, some consider certain forms of leisure, such as dancing, to be pleasurable because of sensations in the body (hedonism), while others consider such physical pastimes immoral because of their sensual nature (Epicureanism). Are those who live a "hippie" lifestyle demonstrating the cynicism notion of pleasure? Is the current idea of "mindfulness" in psychology simply harnessing the ideas of stoicism?

A more recent typology of pleasure contains sensory, expressive, and intellectual forms (S. Smith, 1991). **Sensory pleasures** are found in eating, listening to music, having sex, and playing sports. These expressions are pleasurable because they directly stimulate our senses. For example, studies have shown that the experience of pleasure while listening to music is mediated by the release of the brain's reward chemical—dopamine (Jha, 2013).

Sensory pleasure: Pleasure from direct stimulation of the senses

Expressive pleasure: Pleasure from creativity

Intellectual pleasure: Pleasure from thinking

Expressive pleasures from leisure, on the other hand, are based on the use of creativity. As a result of an experience, something is produced, and this gives us pleasure. For example, listening to rap music may trigger sensory pleasure, whereas creating a rap song more likely offers expressive pleasure. Finally, **intellectual pleasure** from leisure comes from thinking activities. These might include fantasizing, daydreaming, solving puzzles, and even studying (Figure 2.3).

Regardless of how pleasure is categorized, the most important conclusion about this leisure benefit is its usefulness to good health. Of course, pleasure can promote addictions and other dangerous behaviors, but in appropriate amounts and expressions, it is a positive life force. Scientists have shown, for example, that moderate pleasurable experiences can enhance what is referred to as our biological flexibility and complexity and thereby provide a sort of health protection. This is because feelings of pleasure are naturally occurring health processes (Esch & Stefano, 2004, p. 245).



Figure 2.3. The sculpture *The Traveler* perhaps gave expressive pleasure to its creator, Duane Hanson, and gives intellectual pleasure to visitors in the Orlando, Florida, airport. In fact, giving pleasure is an expressed purpose of the airport's public art program. Source: Orlando International Airport, https://twitter.com/MCO.

Play

Play is what we are naturally suited to do. Play is human nature itself. We play a role on the stage, play the fish on the line, and play a musical instrument. We play along, play around, play down, play up, play fair, make a play on words, and play possum.

When children, adults, and animals play, defenses dissolve. We become spontaneous and expanded. We are in the moment—flexible, open, and delighted. All this serves many valuable purposes. It is a means by which we develop and maintain physical, intellectual, emotional, social, and moral capacities. It is how we form and preserve friendships. It provides a state of mind that, in adults as well as children, is uniquely suited for high-level reasoning, insightful problem solving, and all sorts of creative endeavors.

Millar (1968), in her classic *The Psychology of Play*, suggested that "perhaps play is best used as an adverb, not as a name of a class of activities . . . but to describe how and under what conditions an action is performed" (p. 21). As an action, playfulness is an attitude of throwing off the physical, emotional, social, and intellectual constraints that hold us back from high spiritedness, lightness of heart, enthusiasm, and readiness for surprise. As suggested by Dutch anthropologist Johan Huizinga (1955), play is an action that is fully absorbing, includes elements of uncertainty, involves a sense of illusion or exaggeration, and most important, exists outside of ordinary life.

We will use the playing of games to illustrate all this. The English word *game* is related to the old German word *gaman*, which means glee. Thus, the original meaning of game was not far from that of play.

While games vary considerably in the nature of winning, the rules, the number and roles of players, the role of skill versus luck, and the equipment and amount of time required to play, they are at heart in some way artificial. They take place as a synthetic counterpart to real life. The chess match, for example, is the artificial enactment of a medieval war. Monopoly is the counterfeit experience of capitalism.

Box 2.2 The Study Says

Animal Play

Charles Darwin wrote in his 1871 classic *The Descent of Man*, "Happiness is never better exhibited than by young animals . . . when they are playing together" (p. 47). Since this observation, scientists have been interested in animal play. In addition to studying dogs, cats, monkeys, and apes, other studies have researched . . .

Horses: Baby horses have been observed playing within 2 hours of birth. They especially enjoy exaggerated galloping and playfully nipping at their mothers. After a few weeks, they frolic with other foals and chase and circle each other while tossing around objects such as sticks and rags. At 1 month of age, colts and fillies develop different play styles, in preparation, scientists believe, for the gender roles they will adopt later in life: Colts spend much of their time playfully fighting and mounting others; fillies mostly engage in galloping play and mutual grooming (Dugatkin & Rodrigues, 2008).

Parrots: In several recent studies of birds, parrots, cockatoos, and pigeons have been found to be able to discriminate between composers or different genres of music. Further, they prefer music to silence and often move in rhythmic synchronicity to a musical beat. Some parrot species, such as grey parrots, have musical skills. For example, they can repeat musical patterns and reproduce musical sounds (Gupfinger & Kaltenbrunner, 2018).

Octopus: An octopus is an invertebrate animal (no spine), and a very smart one at that. Aquarium handlers (and scientists) have observed numerous instances of behavior that can be described as playful. For example, at the Seattle Aquarium, Sammy, a giant Pacific octopus, enjoys playing with a baseball-size plastic ball that could be screwed together by twisting the two halves. A staffer put food inside the ball but later was surprised to find that not only had Sammy opened the ball but had screwed it back together afterward. In 2007, the Cleveland Metroparks Zoo put together an enrichment handbook for octopus, filled with ideas of how to keep them entertained (Montgomery, 2015).



Primates: Primates are one of the most playful groups of animals. Studies have suggested that high amounts of play are positively correlated to the size and sophistication of their brains (Montgomery, 2014).

Box 2.3 In Profile

Board Games, Again

Are you a "gamer"? I bet that when answering, you are thinking of the latest PC and console blockbusters descriptive of video gaming. However, the past decade has seen unexpected growth in an industry assumed to be redundant in the era of screens. Tabletop board game purchases have risen by between 25% and 40% annually. Thousands of new titles are released each year, and the top ones sell millions of copies. There are competitions and festival circuits held annually around the world (the largest is the 4-day Internationale Spieltage held in Essen, Germany).

All this is perhaps the result of an approach to game design that considers the creation of shared social experiences to be important. For example, the board game Pandemic casts players as a team of medics trying to rid the world of four deadly infectious diseases. Dead of Winter challenges a group of survivors to stay alive in a world overrun by zombies. And Settlers of Catan asks players to compete to settle a wilderness. As you have likely already guessed, the most hardcore (and popular) board games are based on simulation. For example, Distant Plain aims to re-create the Western invasion of Afghanistan in 2001, complete with its political complexity.

One reason for this tabletop-gaming boom is simply that the games themselves have improved. The best games today are sociable, engaging, and difficult to master. As well, and paradoxically, board game popularity is being fueled by online gaming's motivation for in-person socializing. Websites, blogs, and YouTube videos have been established to bolster strategies and connectedness for players.

Sources: Cross, 2017; Duffy, 2014

In games, the types of play can be categorized. For French intellectual Roger Caillois (1961), four types of play in games are distinguished: agon, alea, mimicry, and ilinx. Agon games are competitive and require some skill. These include most sports. Alea games, such as Bingo, require luck and winning is a matter of fate. Mimicry games, typically video and tabletop board games, involve role-playing, and ilinx games are more sensory in nature, such as drinking games. Some games, of course, involve more than one of these forms of play. For example, playing the card game of poker likely involves both agon and alea play.

One enduring question for scientists and philosophers has been about why we play. Since the 18th century at least 15 theories explaining play have been considered, based on studies from biology, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. In reviewing the more common of these theories, we use this classification system (Ellis, 1973): first the older theories, then the more recent theories, and finally the most contemporary explanations (see Table 2.1)

One of the oldest and most often quoted theories of play is the surplus energy theory. It claims play serves as a pressure valve for burning up stored physical energy. Another early theory viewed play as preparation for adulthood. This biologically based theory explains that children play because of instinctual urges required for survival. Some forms of animal play also are described as having preparation for adulthood purposes. Finally, the relaxation theory explains play as an action that provides recuperation from fatigue and stress. Opposite the surplus energy explanation, the relaxation perspective claims that play restores energy.

Table 2.1
A Brief Comparison of Selected Play Theories

Theory	Definition	Example	Critique
Surplus energy	Burning up excess energy	Children chasing each other around the playground	Helps justify the role of physical play for problem youth; does not explain nonphysical play
Preparation	Practice for adult life	Children playing house or doctor	Does not explain adult play
Relaxation	Recuperation	Playing solitaire as a study break	Does not explain play that is similar to work
Catharsis	Letting off emotional steam	Working out on a punching bag after an argument	Has intuitive appeal, yet aggressive behavior often increases aggressive behavior
Behavioristic	A response to a pleasurable stimulus	Playing basketball just after your team won a tournament	Overlooks the role of individual differences, yet has boosted play as appropriate to study
Psychoanalytic	Mastering disturbing events or thoughts	A child yelling at her stuffed animals after a scolding from a parent	Initiated the practice of careful observation of play; play therapy
Arousal-seeking	Seeking optimal stimulation	Bored student counting a professor's mannerisms in class	Has more research support
Competence-effectance	Having an effect on things	Making snow angels in the backyard	Requires more research testing

These and other older theories, which date back to the late 19th and early 20th centuries, are often labeled "armchair" theories because they have limited research support. More recent theories represent attempts to make the explanation of play more scientific. For example, the catharsis theory is similar to the surplus energy theory, except it focuses on pent-up emotional energy rather than physical energy. Play is viewed in this theory as a socially acceptable way to purge negative feelings. Another more recent theory is the behaviorist explanation, which labels play as a form of learning. Based in the work of behavioral psychologists such as B.F. Skinner, play is a part of the stimulus-response mechanisms. That is, play is considered a pleasurable activity that receives praise and recognition, and thus, it is learned and repeated. Finally, the psychoanalytic explanation, first discussed by Sigmund Freud, views many forms of play as symptoms of psychological illness. That is, play is a method of mastering disturbing events or thoughts.

While substantiated by research data, these more recent theories remain credible as only partial explanations of why people play. The most contemporary explanations, in fact, have often been composites of these earlier theories. For example, the arousal-seeking theory claims the main goal of play is both intellectual and physical stimulus. That is, play serves to generate complexity as a guard against boredom. And the competence-effectance theory refers to the need to produce effects—to be a cause of things taking place or being created.

Each of these contemporary theories of play, as well as others not discussed, such as attribution theory, conflict-enculturation theory, and recapitulation theory, contains an element of truth, yet none fully explain all aspects of why we play. Yet maybe this is as it should be. Perhaps play does not occur because it is accountable. Perhaps it is simply an enchanted place outside ordinary life.

Humor

"Angels fly because they take themselves lightly," says an old Scottish proverb. And researchers have reported that "lightening up" is good medicine. Humor aids digestion, stimulates the heart and lungs, lowers blood pressure, strengthens muscles, improves the immune system, and reduces pain (Jones, 1992). As well as physical benefits, humor improves our mental and social health. Having a good laugh helps to relieve stress, improve mood, ease anxiety and fear, and improve resilience. Further, humor helps us make friends, diffuses conflict, and promotes group bonding (M. Smith & Segal, 2016).

Box 2.4 In Your Own Experience

How to Lighten Up!

How much humor do you have in your daily life? Want to add more? Here's your to-do list:

- Search for humor in the everyday
- Try laughter yoga
- Turn off the TV news, and watch a funny movie or a comedy channel instead
- Post a picture of someone laughing on your bathroom mirror
- Hang out with children and funny people
- Be mindful of when you are and are not smiling and increase the smiling ratio
- Learn how to tell a joke
- Have a favorite comedian
- Tell a funny story about yourself

What is humor? One way to define it is as a special kind of pleasure. Jokes, cartoons, caricatures, parodies, puns, silliness, imitations, wisecracks, and tall tales provide pleasant psychological shifts that usually result in an audible physiological expression of laughter. When we laugh, we experience two physiological phases: the arousal phase—when the heart rate increases—and the resolution phase—when the heart rests. Our heart can reach up to 120 beats per minute when we laugh. Unfortunately, we do not always take advantage of this. For example, on average children laugh 400 times per day, while adults only laugh about 15 times per day (Roach, 1996).

There are many theories that attempt to explain humor and what is considered humorous. The prevailing types of theories are from a psychological perspective. For example, relief theory maintains that laughter is a homeostatic mechanism that relieves psychological tension (Morreall, 2016). Superiority theory, on the other hand, suggests that a person laughs about misfortune of others because it makes them feel superior (Morreall, 2016). One of the more popular theories of humor is called benign violation. This is the idea that something is funny when it disrupts our sense of normalcy, but only in a way that does not present any real harm (McGraw & Warren, 2010).

Humor is a benefit of leisure, and humor likely occurs during leisure. Indeed, some philosophers consider humor to be a form of daily-life play (Martin, 1996). For example, a study by Martin and Kuiper (1995) found that laughter tends to occur throughout the day, although it is more frequent in the evening when we are more likely to be around other people. Thus, other studies have shown that humor is primarily a social experience. In another study, using a humor diary and mood measures, research by Mannell and McMahon (1982) examined the frequency and types of humorous experiences of uni-

versity students and their relationship to psychological well-being during a day. Mass media, such as television, provided the fewest incidents of humor (18%), while social interactions generated the largest number (56%). Also, increases in positive moods and decreases in negative moods were associated significantly with greater numbers of incidents of humor and overt laughter.

Relaxation

A child drawing pictures in the beach sand that a wave immediately erases, a tourist wandering without an itinerary, and two friends rocking in silence on the front porch are relaxing, and through relaxation, they are experiencing being "leisurely." An early proponent of this leisure benefit was Josef Pieper (1963), a German scholar who declared, "Leisure is not the attitude of the mind of those who actively intervene but of those who are open to everything; not of those who grab hold, but of those who leave the reins loose and who are free and easy themselves" (p. 41). To Pieper, leisure was defined as an "attitude of non-activity" (p. 31), of not being busy, but letting things happen. Doug Kleiber, a contemporary American scholar, agrees and claims true leisure is simply being appreciative, contemplative, and peaceful. He wrote, "Leisure is most essentially a position of relaxation, of faithful openness to immediate reality . . ." (Kleiber, 2000, p. 83).

The importance of this quality of leisure may be difficult for us to grasp because we live in societies that celebrate effort and accomplishment, and idleness is therefore considered supremely nonproductive. But modern living suggests there could be no greater circumstance for ensuring that we take the time to do nothing at all.

A culture of overachievers is not necessarily the same as "getting things done." Often, we are busy for busy sake. One more check of our e-mail before going out the door, a few more photos to post online, and one more load of laundry even though only a half load is dirty. The Italians have a word for a concept of piddling around known as *la dolce far niente*—the sweetness of doing nothing and enjoying where we are in the present moment. Thomas Merton (1948), a Catholic writer and mystic, perhaps struck a chord with millions by not just noting that "man was made for the highest activity, which is, in fact, his rest" (p. 32), but also acting on it. He left the rat race for a Cistercian monastery.

While most of us will not need to take such a drastic step to relax, there are at least two positions from which to argue its importance. First, relaxation is of value for its ability to recharge us to be productive later. It relieves stress, improves the immune system, and generally restores us for our work or school tasks. This is the logic often used when we decide to take a vacation. For example, Pulitzer Prize winner Nicholas Carr (2010) in the book *The Shallows* points to research that demonstrated that after spending time relaxing in quiet rural settings, subjects exhibited greater attentiveness, stronger memory, and generally improved cognition.

But relaxation can also be revered as an end in itself. In *Freedom and Destiny*, psychoanalyst Rollo May (1981) refers to it as "the pause," which is important because it interrupts the routine and habits of our lives with imagining, reflecting, wondering, and pondering. The pause has become increasingly sought after today. For example, the recent popularity of yoga, tai chi chuan, and meditation, as well as relaxation techniques such as autogenic relaxation, progressive muscle relaxation, hot stone massage, and aromatherapy, perhaps supports this perspective (Figure 2.4).

Not all leisure, of course, provides for the benefits of relaxation. In fact, some pastimes create opposite qualities. Even a quick search of the Internet comes up with lots of advice on how to make your leisure more relaxing, including tips for dealing with highly scheduled leisure events, reducing competitive forms of recreation, giving up on multitasking amusement, and avoiding fears of missing out. Try doing nothing in nature. Do nothing while you wait in line. Sip your morning coffee with mindfulness.



Figure 2.4. In the gym, you typically see people distracting themselves from physical exercise. She is on the treadmill listening through earbuds to an audiobook. He is on the stair-climber watching the news on the wall-mounted TV. People's attention seems to be *anywhere* other than on what they are doing. Tai chi chuan is the exact opposite. It is rooted in multiple Asian traditions, and the most important thing you do in tai chi practice is fully engage your mind and attention.

Solitude and Silence

Often when we relax, we do so alone and silently. Yet, even when we are not physically with other people, it can be difficult to find solitude and quiet. Imagine for a moment that you are standing out in the middle of a wide-open field. There is no breeze, no car sounds, no planes overhead. You receive no phone notifications. You are alone, and it is completely and utterly silent. Is this sensation easy for you?

Spending time alone is an integral part of living well. Perhaps this is because brief periods of solitude can return us to ourselves by providing opportunities for growth and creativity (Storr, 1988). While many people fear being lonely, when voluntarily chosen being alone provides a time and space to be ourselves, accountable only to ourselves, and free of obligations. When this is the experience, we are at leisure.

In a sense, the leisure benefit of solitude is a form of narcissism. In leisure's solitude, we can return to ourselves. For example, May Sarton, an American poet and novelist, referred to solitude as the "richness of self." In her journal entry of September 15, she wrote,

> I am here alone for the first time in weeks, to take up my "real" life again at last. That is what is strange—that friends, even passionate love, are not my real life unless there is time alone in which to explore and to discover what is happening. (Sarton, 1973, p. 3).

A very early proponent of the importance of solitude was Michel de Montaigne, a French philosopher from the mid-1500s. He retired from being a lawyer and civil servant at the age of 38, locking himself away in a tower in near total reclusion so he could contemplate and write a series of essays that included a distinction between solitude and being alone: "We must take the soul back and withdraw it into itself; that is the real solitude, which may be enjoyed in the midst of cities and the courts of kings; but it is best enjoyed alone" (de Montaigne, 1958, p. 103).

The benefits of solitude, in spite of its antique origins, remain a very contemporary idea. An example is the company Intel, which experimented in 2007 with conferring four uninterrupted hours of alone

quiet time every Tuesday morning on 300 engineers and managers. During this time, workers were not allowed to use the phone or send e-mail, but simply had the chance to clear their heads and hear themselves think. A majority of Intel's trial group recommended that the policy be extended to others (Iyer, 2011). Another example is the rising demand in travel for "black-hole resorts," which charge high prices precisely because there is no television and you cannot get online in the rooms.

Often silence is a companion of solitude. Silence is the absence of audible sound. Silence from a spirituality perspective is often a metaphor for inner stillness. A silent mind, freed from the onslaught of thoughts, is a goal in spiritual development. Silence has many other important uses. For example, it is used as a means for showing respect (a moment of silence) when remembering victims or casualties. Also, music depends on silence to distinguish melodies and rhythms to give them greater impact. Most music scores feature *rests*, which mean periods of silence. Complete silence is absolutely necessary for certain types of scientific research and military intelligence. For example, in East Central West Virginia a large area of land is designated as a radio quiet zone. Here radio telescopes track and read the energy waves that come from stars or gases, so they require electromagnetic silence otherwise. This means no cell or Wi-Fi service is available. The area has also attracted people who want to live nearby because they believe they suffer from electromagnetic hypersensitivity.

Noise, on the other hand, is unwanted sound—sound that is judged to be unpleasant, such as loud and disruptive sound. Exposure to noise is associated with some negative health outcomes. Depending on duration and level of exposure, noise can cause increases in hearing loss, high blood pressure, sleep disturbances, injuries, and psychiatric disorders (Passchier-Vermeer & Passchier, 2000).

Yet society makes both solitude and silence difficult for us to attain. Traffic and construction noise, working with and around other people, and perhaps especially personal communication devices see to it that we have no quiet privacy. For example, the average office worker today has no more than 3 minutes at a time at his or her desk without interruption (Iyer, 2011). And smartphone users check their device an average of every 6.5 minutes, which works out to around 150 times a day (Nguyen, 2015).

Ritual

If you live in the United States, does your family celebrate Thanksgiving in much the same way year after year? Do you always watch the annual Super Bowl football game on television with the same group of friends, and eat the same foods? These are examples of ritualized leisure. **Ritual** is a set of acts with their sequence established by culture and tradition. Perhaps born from the human need for regular and mutual affirmation (Ibrahim, 1991), an everyday pattern may begin at the individual level and then evolve into collective patterns.

Ritual: An activity performed in a customary way; different communities and cultures have different ritual practices in leisure

Holidays provide rich illustrations. Today, in the U.S. we ritualistically experience patriotic holidays, as well as holidays considered seasonal or religious. In addition, people establish unofficial holidays that inspire specific rituals, such as Friendship Day (first Sunday in August) and Buy Nothing Day (the day after the American Thanksgiving; Figure 2.5). Some holidays have rich traditions that trace from ancient origins, often having no contemporary basis in their original meaning. Groundhog Day, for example, was originally celebrated as Candlemas Day, an early Christian festival in Europe for bringing all the candles to be used for the coming year into the church to be blessed (Godbey, 2003). The superstition held that if for Candlemas it was a bright and sunny day (February 2), there would be more winter.

Many illustrations of leisure as ritual can also be found in tourism. For example, anthropologist Dean MacCannell (1999) claimed that modern international sightseeing possesses its own rituals that morally structure tourist behavior. His point is that guided tours are extensive ceremonial agendas involving long strings of obligatory rites. If you go to Europe, you must see Paris, and if you go to Paris, you must see the Louvre Museum, and if you go to the Louvre, you must see the *Mona Lisa*.



Figure 2.5. Dîner en Blanc. Vancouver, 2012. Dîner en Blanc is a worldwide event, spanning six continents, in which people gather in a public space and set up a temporary, chic dining area. The rituals of the event include wearing white, using white tableware, waving a cloth napkin to signify the beginning of dinner, and lighting sparklers to conclude dinner.

MacCannell declared that this ritual attitude of the tourist originated in the act of travel itself, which in turn originated as a pilgrimage to holy places. In anthropology, a special term has been identified for the tourist ritual: **sight sacralization**. A particular destination becomes a tourist attraction because for social, historical, or cultural reasons it represents something morally good. The next time you're visiting the *Mona Lisa*, for example, notice how reverent the other museum visitors are in its presence.

Sight sacralization: A tourist destination is considered sacred

Another illustration of the benefit of ritual in leisure is readily available in sports. We have all seen elite athletes, as well as fans, perform ritual movements or chants before competitions. In all sports, and at all levels of ability, rituals are widespread. And reliance on these may indeed have an impact on their success in the event (Damisch, Stoberock, & Mussweiler, 2010). The real value seems to be a boosting of confidence and a sense of control. If sport participants believe that doing a specific action will make them perform better, then they will likely perform better.

Box 2.5 In Profile

Rituals by Golfers

The athlete rituals found in the sport of golf are uniquely eccentric and personal. For example,

Champion tours player *John Cook* marks his ball with quarters that feature states where he played well in the past.

Lee Trevino was once quoted as saying that he will never use yellow tees when teeing off, because yellow is the color of cowardice.

Jack Nicklaus always plays with three coins in his pocket.

Tiger Woods always wears a red shirt for the last round of a tournament. (Why? His mother told him to, because it is the color of power.)

Arnie Palmer always hitched up his pants as a pre-shot routine.

Source: Wood, 2017

Holiday, tourism, and sport rituals share certain common characteristics. Typically, they all involve intrinsic reward, having meaning in and of themselves. As well, much of the ritual of leisure is of the type labeled by Goffman (1959) as decorum. **Decorum** is nonessential, as is decoration, but is practiced because it enhances social interaction. The game of golf, for example, is considered one of the most decorum-rich sports. Where to stand while others are playing, how to mark the ball on the green, and whose turn it is can intimidate a new player unaware of the decorum.

Decorum: Socially useful behavior

Box 2.6 Web Explore

Burning Man

For a unique illustration of ritual in leisure, check out The Burning Man event at http://burningman.org/, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burning_Man, and https://www.youtube.com/burningman

Commitment

Do you know anyone who is so committed to a pastime that it holds absolute primacy in his or her life? For example, after being asked, "How bad would it be if you were unable to downhill ski anymore?" a 57-year old man who skis only on vacation responded,

> It would be very bad. Skiing is an important part of my life. Not just of my leisure life, but of my real life. It is who I am. I cannot imagine living without skiing. (R. Russell, 2000)

For many people, leisure supplies the main source of personal identity and meaning in life. For them, a specific pastime is taken very seriously. There are several ways we can consider this leisure benefit. For starters, commitment in leisure could mean devoting energy and resources to perfecting the skills and knowledge needed to do an activity well. Also, someone who has consistently and regularly pursued a pastime from childhood through old age demonstrates a commitment.

The focus of numerous research studies has combined these ideas into the concept of serious leisure. **Serious leisure** is the "systematic pursuit of an activity that participants find so substantial and interest-

ing that, in the typical case, they launch themselves on a career centered on acquiring and expressing its special skills, knowledge, and experience" (Stebbins, 1992, p.3).

Serious leisure: The substantial and systematic pursuit of a pastime

In other words, it is high-investment leisure. According to Stebbins (2011), serious leisure is a particular leisure quality that is contrasted with casual leisure, such as watching television and hanging out with friends, where little or no commitment is required to enjoy it, and with project leisure, which includes intense yet short-term commitment. This distinction depends on the degree and focus of the commitment, with serious leisure requiring the highest commitment.

Serious leisure is independent of the actual recreational activity. It can be almost anything from participating in triathlons to bead weaving. What makes the pursuit serious leisure is high amounts of what Stebbins (2011) considers the characteristics of serious leisure:

- a high standard of performance (effort)
- participation for the experience of it (intrinsic motivation)
- a set of values, resources, and schedules constructed around the activity (career)
- involvement in groups engaged in the same activity (unique ethos)
- self-identification with the activity (durable benefits)
- need to persevere

Such committed leisure can be both good and bad. For example, in a study by Cheng, Hung, and Chen (2016), a high degree of commitment in a leisure pursuit usually means the quality of the pursuit is enhanced. As well, results from a study by Heo, Ryu, Yang, and Kim (2018) suggested that commitment to serious leisure (in this study, pickleball playing) is associated with lower levels of depression in older adults.

On the other hand, overcommitment—to the point of addiction—can be harmful. In exercise addiction, for example, a habitually exercising individual loses control over his or her exercise experience and acts compulsively, exhibits dependence, and receives negative consequences to health as well as in his or her social and professional life (Veale, 1995).

Risk

Ocean cruising is an exotic way of life. Cruisers sail the oceans of the world for years just for fun. They forsake the security and safety of land-based life for the formidable challenges of the high seas. Their lifestyle requires effort and expensive resources in the face of high danger. Are cruisers a special case?

Formerly viewed as fringe activities, high-risk recreation is now globally popular. Since 2009, for example, participation has increased over 25% (Gilbertson & Ewert, 2015). The increased popularity of risky leisure, also referred to as extreme sport and adventure recreation, is mirrored by the increase in media coverage that glorifies it. While risky leisure was once the domain of esoteric enthusiasts, such as ocean cruisers, participants now come from a wide range of age, income, and education levels (Olivier, 2006).

Risky leisure illustrations include bungee jumping, rock climbing, surfing, whitewater and sea kayaking, blackwater rafting, parasailing, wakeboarding, cave diving, free diving, mountaineering, storm chasing, gliding, and paragliding (Figure 2.6). Extreme leisure is usually defined as a pastime performed in a hazardous environment and involving more than the typical risk of other pastimes ("Extreme Leisure," 2018; "Risk Recreation," 2018). Risk as a leisure value pertains to an experience of excitement and danger, with the certain potential of loss, injury, illness, and even death. Leisure that provides for sensation-seeking—for varied, novel, and complex sensations, because of physical and psychological risks—is the point.

We are not limited to consider risky leisure on rock faces and in whitewater rapids, however. Other high-risk pursuits might include gambling, having a poem you have written read aloud to an audience, and baking a cake for friends using a new recipe. In these activities, the risk is not of physical harm, but they require emotional and/or social risk.



Figure 2.6. Popular worldwide, BASE jumping (parachuting or wingsuit flying from a fixed structure) is one of the riskiest leisure pursuits. BASE jumping from the KL Tower in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

So why do we do these things? What is the value? Many studies have investigated high-risk leisure and found a wide range of motives. For example, Buckley (2012) listed motives such as thrill, fear, control, skill, achievement, fitness, nature, art, spirit, friends, image, escape, competition, and the intrinsic risk itself. That is, risk in leisure gives us a feeling of exhilaration. We feel competent. We find an escape from the ordinary routines of our lives.

Box 2.7 What Do You Say?

Is Risky Leisure Morally Right?

Extreme pastimes are very popular. Yet there is some criticism about their potential negative costs. The heart of the discussion is, as the number of people participating in risky leisure increases, so do the number of serious injuries and deaths.

BASE jumping is one example. At least 250 conventional free-fall skydives from an airplane are usually recommended before attempting a BASE jump. The main reason for this is that initiation of the jump can be lower than the parachute opening height for conventional skydiving, with jumpers having only seconds to deploy their parachutes. Also, unpredictable side drafts can force the participant into the structure that was jumped from.

Because BASE jumping is considered an "underground" activity (and in some places is illegal), fatality statistics are difficult to confirm. According to one estimate, between 1978 and 2017 there have been 362 known BASE jumping deaths worldwide (BLiNC Magazine, 2018). Other criticisms include the costs to rescue teams and the emotional impact on participants' friends and family. Further, use of natural resources such as rock faces and icefalls can have an irreparable negative impact on the resource. While there are attempts to manage the risks of BASE jumping, such as thorough training and better equipment, there is always a high risk of harm.

1. Have you participated in what you would consider to be risky leisure? For what reasons did/do you choose to participate?
2. What are some reasons for you personally that taking a risk of being seriously injured or even killed in a leisure pursuit is worth it? Also, what might be some justifications for not taking the risk?
3. Some participants have concluded that mature, rational individuals ought to have the right to pursue activities that have potentially harmful consequences. What do you think? Is this conclusion morally right?

Further, Paxton (1998) measured gains in ability to consider oneself as able to produce results (labeled self-efficacy) from risky forms of leisure and concluded these gains lasted for at least one year after the experience. A study by Priest and Bunting (1993) similarly found that participation in a 3-day whitewater canoe trip resulted in increases in feelings of competence, which also lasted for at least one year after the experience. As well, Gilbertson and Ewert (2015) concluded from their investigation of motivations for adventure activities (rock climbing, whitewater kayaking, sea kayaking, and canoeing) that over time participation became more based on social and escape reasons, while self-image and sensation-seeking reasons remained constant.

Spirituality

Everyone's life draws on some form of inspiration—a divine influence, deep values, and meanings to live by. This quality is often called spirituality and is considered a requirement for good health (Heintzman & Mannell, 2003). An inspired life not only provides important coping resources for dealing with stress, but also fosters a "sense of inner wholeness" (Walsh, 1999, p. 6). Living spiritually can give us hope, forgiveness, a sense of meaning, and a feeling of unity with the world around us.

Some even refer to spirituality as a kind of intelligence. For example, Zohar and Marshall (2001) consider spiritual intelligence to reflect our capacity to vision, value, and believe; it is what we use to place our actions and lives into a wider, richer context. That is, when we have high spiritual intelligence, we can satisfy a longing for something that gives us and our actions a sense of meaning. Spiritual intelligence is an ability to let go of the confines of our ego and, according to Zohar and Marshall, is a necessary foundation for the effective functioning of our other intelligences: intellectual, social, and emotional.

How does leisure benefit us spiritually? We will consider two particular pastimes to illustrate this—skiing and snowboarding. In a study by Marsh (2007), interviews were conducted with people who had been skiing and snowboarding in the region of Teton Pass, Wyoming—a backcountry area with more than 400 inches of annual snowfall. They were asked about the meanings they perceived receiving from their experiences in the backcountry. The most frequently expressed meanings were a transcendent experience, increased awareness, connection to others, reflection, tranquility, appreciation of beauty, and mental and physical exercise. The study concluded that these leisure pursuits provided a means for participants to find an inner wholeness.

Another perspective suggests leisure may have a spiritual quality because it connects us with others. Through shared leisure, we may grow to better understand and get along with each other. This can be illustrated through celebrating festivals and holidays. Pieper (1963), for example, declared that celebration is the soul of leisure. He argued that people celebrate with each other that which is good.

Other scholars have linked leisure and spirituality in similar ways. For example, Lehman (1974) suggested leisure is a sense of being that helps us attain enlightenment, and for Pieper (1963) again, leisure is a meditative state in which we discover God and the true meaning of life. Some consider the practice of spiritual activities such as prayer to be leisure-like. More recently, Pan (2018) considered leisure experience to be aesthetic—involving beauty, taste, sentiment, and mindfulness. That is, leisure brings freshness, creativity, and self-development. In writing about art, Wilde (n.d./1890) wrote that "all art is quite useless" (Preface section, Bullet Point 10). That is, we appreciate beautiful things not only for their practical utility but also for what they are in themselves. And so it is for leisure.

What We Understand About the Value of Leisure

There is no debating that the experience of leisure is important to us. To demonstrate, in this chapter we presented several examples of its individual benefits. After studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- We need leisure in our lives because it provides us with the benefits that make us human.
  Based on the chapter, what does this mean, that leisure makes us human?
- These benefits include freedom, intrinsic reward, pleasure, happiness, solitude and silence, ritual, humor, play, commitment, relaxation, commitment, risk, and spirituality.
  Select two of these benefits and give examples for each on how leisure provides for them.
- We do not need all these benefits at the same time and in the same pastime, but we do need some of them at least some of the time.
  Which of leisure benefits are most important to you, and how does leisure provide them in your life?

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CHAPTER 3
Leisure and Health

What does leisure have to do with our health?

Leisure is necessary for growing and maturing, as well as for maintaining good health.

How does leisure help us to grow and mature?

Our lives are experienced both as continuous and as change. Leisure stimulates and eases the transitions of change yet also remains constant throughout life.

How does leisure help us acquire and maintain health?

Leisure contributes to our physical, social, intellectual, and emotional health.



Achieving well-being is perhaps the essence of human existence. Originally of concern to philosophers such as Aristotle, in recent years wellness has become of interest to science. There is a rapidly growing body of research about what contributes to the quality of people's growth and maturation, and ultimately their lifelong health. This has enabled a new understanding of the factors that influence well-being, and emerging is the primacy of the factor of leisure.

In Chapter 2, we summarized the many benefits of leisure to us. In this chapter, we go even further and explore the specific role of leisure in our physical, social, emotional, and intellectual growth and health throughout our lives. As preamble, we first lay forth foundational understandings of well-being and building block concepts such as life-span development and health. Then we enumerate the contribution of leisure for our physical, social, intellectual, and emotional health.

Building Blocks of Well-Being

There are several overlapping constructs for what we are discussing in this chapter. For example, the terms *wellness*, *health*, and *quality of life* are often considered synonymous and perhaps can be considered components of general human well-being. You can probably think of other terms that describe well-being, such as *comfort*, *welfare*, *safety*, *good fortune*, and even *happiness*. Regardless of any distinctions of terms and definitions, they all focus on the achievement of the positiveness of living (Gill & Bedini, 2010).

Indeed, there continues to be academic debate about precisely how well-being should be understood. For our purposes, it is most usefully thought of as the dynamic and positive process that ensures that people

- possess a sense of individual vitality;
- are able to undertake activities that are meaningful, engaging, and which make them feel competent and autonomous; and
- have a stock of resources to help them be resilient to changes and circumstances not under their immediate control (New Economics Foundation, 2012).

Well-being is a process that not only gives people a sense of how their lives are going, but also provides the resources to cope with difficult life circumstances as they come along. People who have high levels of well-being contribute more positively to the quality of community life and make the world a better place to live for others. This sounds, of course, rather lofty, but the consequences of low levels of well-being for both individuals and their surroundings are harmful and costly. This is why we are interested in the role of leisure. But, before we get to that, we have a few more foundational understandings to establish.

The dynamic process of well-being includes the building blocks of growth and development, as well as health. What do these mean? First, in this chapter we consider growth and development from a **life span** perspective. That is, we begin young, we mature and grow older, and we die. A life-span understanding of this cycle means we view human life as an uninterrupted sequence. Thus, in this chapter we use physical, emotional, intellectual, and social development across the life span as markers for how leisure relates.

Life span: The changes and continuities of life from birth to death

Box 3.1
In Your Own Experience

Calculating Your Life Span

To illustrate the dynamic interrelationships among the well-being components of health, leisure, and life span, you can estimate your future length of life using a variety of Web-supported calculators. For example,

https://www.northwesternmutual.com/longevity-game/

https://www.livingto100.com/

https://www.sharecare.com/static/realage

How would you describe the nature of the questions you were asked in these calculators? Did any relate to leisure?

Because our primary focus is leisure, we will introduce a leisure concept that illustrates the life span perspective. This is the idea of **core plus balance** (Kelly, 1999). What we are in leisure today is based in part on what we were yesterday as well as how we will be different tomorrow. That is, the types of leisure activities we choose, our frequency of participation in these activities, and our motivations and benefits for and from them are both constant and change across our life span (Freysinger, 1999). In Figure 3.1, is zip lining an example of core or balance?

Core plus balance: There is both a persistent core and a balancing variety in our pastimes across the life span

That is, there is a persistent "core" of leisure interests that occupy most people most of their lives. These represent continuity in leisure. Our core pastimes are typically those activities that are easily accessible and low cost, such as watching television, taking walks, playing cards, and reading. Such core activities usually occupy the greatest amount of our free time.

On the other hand, our lives also include a variety of pastimes that change over time. This is our "balance" of leisure expressions that shift as we grow older. To balance out our core pastimes, we seek variety. For example, when you were a child you may have been involved in playing saxophone in the school band, and when you were a young adult, your weekends were devoted to whitewater kayaking. Then, when you become an older adult, you may throw yourself into flower gardening. Meanwhile, what has been consistent throughout your life is enthusiasm for reading fiction.



Figure 3.1. Preparing to launch on a zip line. Is this pastime an example of the core or balance concept in leisure across the life span? Why?
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One source of example is within the social development realm of friendship. What is the core plus balance of friendships across the life span? Healthy social relationships are paramount for maximum well-being at every age. This is our core. Meanwhile, based on a study of Degges-White (2017), we can trace the life span role of friendship, or the balance, as

- *Young Children* – Friends are defined by same-aged peers in close proximity (i.e., the neighborhood, other children in the home, at church, etc.). When children enter school, there is a growing understanding of social hierarchies. This is when the desire to be popular begins.

- *Adolescents and Young Adults* – Teens use their friends as mirrors—we want friends who reflect the identities we want. That's why "mean girls" can be mean and their behavior is accepted; their power is desired. As we head out of the teen years, our sense of identity becomes more stable and we start to look for friends who complement us, not just mirror us.
- *The 20s and 30s* – Now, a wide variety of professional and social contexts expect us to show up and be involved. We need friends who can help us move up the career ladder and integrate into society. At the same time, we want to develop the skills for hanging onto friendships from the past.
- *Parenthood* – We find and make friends in settings where there are other parents, according to the age of the children. Often, these friends serve as a support system for solving common problems.
- *Mid-adult years* – Finally, we begin to seek out and cherish genuine friends. Often, taking up new pastimes, letting go of old responsibilities, and having more freedom in how we spend time provide opportunities to edit our social relationships.
- *Older adulthood* – Here our friendship circles may decrease in size. Sometimes relocation for retirement, illness, or a decrease in mobility are the reasons. A shrinking of friendships can cause depression and loneliness, which is why leisure is important—in leisure, we can seek other sources of social networks.

Finally, when we use the word *health* in relation to leisure, what do we mean? To answer, we consult the World Health Organization (WHO, 2006), which since 1948 has declared health to be "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (p. 1). Here it seems that the meaning of health is similar to the meaning of well-being, but less broadly, health is the level of functioning for a person—the general condition of a person's mind, body, and spirit, usually free from illness, injury, or pain.

Box 3.2
In Profile

Blue Zones

Do you live in a "Blue Zone"? Blue Zones are regions of the world where, as Buettner (2012) in conjunction with National Geographic claim, people live much longer than average. He identified Okinawa, Japan; Sardinia, Italy; Nicoya, Costa Rica; Icaria, Greece; and the Seventh-day Adventists in Loma Linda, California. In these regions, 1 in 3 people make it well into their 90s. Why? Buettner offers an explanation based on research data and firsthand observations: moderate, regular physical activity; life purpose; stress reduction; moderate caloric intake; primarily plant-based diet; moderate alcohol intake; no smoking; and engagement in spirituality, family life, and social life.

Leisure and Physical Well-Being

The importance of the role of leisure in physical development and healthy functioning remains strong throughout our life span, but the nature of it changes. The physical benefits from leisure shift from developing motor control in children, to sustaining health during the middle years, to reducing the decline in physical capabilities in older adulthood.

Today, in the United States, the average life expectancy is 78.7 years for all races and both genders, which is ranked 37th in the world. Hong Kong SAR has the highest average life expectancy (84.3 years), followed by Japan (83.8 years), Italy (83.5), and Spain (83.4; World Economic Forum, 2018). Many factors contribute to these averages, of course, but one important difference is the amount of physical

activity. Basically, if your lifestyle includes regular participation in active leisure pursuits, you can expect to add up to 10 quality years to these expected years. Here's how.

In the beginning, the newborn's mission is to master her or his own body, and play provides an important tool for this. Early learning is the result of seemingly random movement, and an infant's individualistic play provides the platform for this learning. By 2 years of age, the child has developed basic motor skills, such as running and jumping, and nonmotor skills such as pushing, pulling, and kicking. Early play experiences are crucial for the development of these skills, as well as for learning muscle control and coordination.

Between the ages of about 6 and 12, the amount of muscle tissue doubles and flexibility increases; thus, physical play continues to be a necessary developmental tool, particularly for the promotion of normal bone growth. Playing with ropes, mastering climbing and balancing equipment, and learning to control balls give children opportunities to expand their neuromuscular coordination and strength, as well. Overall, and put bluntly, children would not grow up without play. Increased motor control does not occur automatically; the child's body develops in large part from the physical demands placed on it. Further, childhood activity levels are strong predictors of physical activity later in life (Taylor, 1999).

Yet, according to the WHO (2018), more than 80% of the world's children and teens are insufficiently physically active. Most authorities recommend that kids participate in at least 60 minutes of vigorous or moderately intense physical activity every day (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2018). Yet in the U.S., more and more schools have eliminated recess to make more time for academics (Brooks, 2018). And children's time spent outdoors has fallen to 4 hours per week (National Recreation and Park Association, 2018).

Box 3.3 What Do You Say?

Sport Training for Babies

Even a casual search on the Internet will help you locate a special leisure service: sport and fitness training for babies and very young children. Offering coaches, videos, leagues, and training regimes for home, these services work on the physical skills needed for organized sport success. For example, at Lil' Kickers (lilkickers.com), with franchises in 27 states and provinces, parents can enroll children starting at 18 months in soccer training, complete with soccer jerseys. At Gymtrix (Gymtrix.com – click Wee Trix), gymnastics training begins for 1-year-olds.



1. What is your opinion about sport training for babies and toddlers? Would you enroll your child in one of these programs? Why or why not?
2. In an era when we worry about the decline in physically active children, is this solution right or does it go overboard? Why?

Physical change is the major initiator of a wide-ranging passage from childhood to adulthood, and the role of leisure in the physical development of adolescents is significant. The word **adolescence** is Latin and means to grow up, and the physical changes experienced (growth spurts, changing body proportions, hormone increases, etc.) are large and rapid. These changes, and the accompanying traumas, can affect concepts of self that go beyond the physical. Thus, if appropriately selected, active forms of leisure can help teens cope with their social and psychological awkwardness as well.

Adolescence: The transition from childhood to adulthood, describing the development of physical and sexual maturity, as well as psychological and economic independence

For example, competitive sport participation by teens not only provides exercise for developing strength and motor control but can also improve self-confidence and social status. In one research study, playing on a sport team was linked to higher life satisfaction in boys and girls, who experienced increases in school connectedness, social support, and bonding among friends (Zullig & White, 2010).

When we enter the workforce or attend college in late adolescence and early adulthood, our physical capabilities and energy are usually high. Some of us seek a wide assortment of active forms of recreation, with participation in strenuous sports continuing from youth. Interest in high-risk activities, such as skiing and rock climbing, begin to develop fully as well.

Usually by our late 20s or early 30s, leisure and physical development begin to shift their relationship. Biological maturity, when bone density is greatest and most physical skills peak, occurs at about this time (Donatelle & Davis, 2011), while participation in strenuous and high-risk sports gradually begins to decrease. As a counterforce, however, the high-level skill development that has taken place through years of practice makes some physical forms of leisure (e.g., golf) even more enjoyable.

Meanwhile, normal physical changes also affect our leisure as we continue to grow into advanced ages. As we age, our bodies gradually become less flexible and endurance is reduced. After about age 50, the number of muscle fibers steadily decreases. While sometimes these physical changes stimulate changes in leisure activity types and frequency, leisure can also be a means to slowing the age-related disability process. For example, even with up to 50% deterioration in many organ systems, by remaining physically vigorous through leisure we can continue to enjoy life's pleasures. Even people who begin a regular fitness or sport program late in life can make significant improvements in their heart and lung capacity.

Indeed, for all phases in the life span, the most basic importance of leisure is making and keeping us physically healthy. Indeed, the list of benefits is astounding. Active leisure provides for greater energy levels, a stronger immune system, improved cardiovascular function, reduced risk for type 2 diabetes and some types of cancer, reversal of debilitations from arthritis, an improved ability to manage stress, reduction in dementia symptoms, a more positive outlook on life, enhanced relationships with others, a longer life expectancy, and better sex (Mayo Clinic, 2018).

In particular, active pastimes that are nature based serve a major role in keeping us physically healthy. For example, researchers at the University of Exeter concluded that spending a minimum of 120 minutes per week in the forest, along the seaside, or on a mountain is significantly associated with reducing levels of the stress hormone cortisol, lowering heart rate, reducing the risk of coronary heart disease, lowering blood pressure, lowering cholesterol, reducing the risk of type 2 diabetes, and basically reducing all-cause mortality (White et al., 2019).

But many people do not receive these health benefits, because they are not physically active. The prevailing outcome, of course, is overweight and obesity. Obesity is simply too much body weight. We typically measure this by comparing height to weight, sometimes adjusted for age—or a body mass index (BMI). An adult who is overweight has a BMI of 25 to 30, and an adult who is obese has a BMI over 30 (WHO, 2019). (BMI calculators are available online if you want to check your own.)

There have been numerous studies of obesity, especially in children. Childhood obesity has been on the rise in many countries. In fact, childhood obesity has become so alarmingly prevalent that increasing amounts of government and nonprofit organization funding have been provided toward its prevention and treatment. It is impossible to point to one single cause of the childhood obesity epidemic, but rather it is due to a combination of factors.

Box 3.4
By the Numbers

Obesity

- The average American man weighs 198 pounds (adding 32 pounds since 1960)
- The average American woman weighs 171 pounds (adding 31 pounds since 1960)
- By 2030, it is estimated that half of all U.S. adults will be obese.
- The prevalence of obesity for children ages 2 to 5 years has doubled since the 1970s.
- The annual cost of being obese Is $4,879 for women and $2,646 for men.
- 27% of young Americans are too overweight to serve in the military.

Source: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, 2019

The most prevalent factor, of course, is an increase in sedentary lifestyles, with studies most often citing increases in screen time. But also, poor food choices, such as the consumption of sweetened beverages, are involved. Regardless of the blame, this is a significant long-term health problem. Increased body fat basically means losses to muscular strength, cardiorespiratory fitness, and bone mass. Obese children are also more likely to have prediabetes, high blood pressure, sleep apnea, and social and psychological problems.

Leisure and Social Well-Being

Infants are born into an environment rich with expectations, norms, and traditions. A full social heritage with standards of behavior awaits them. Thus, a rather dramatic series of changes takes place during their first two years as they become aware of their surroundings. Play, of course, is a prime teacher in a child's social development. From it, they become aware of family relationships, themselves as individuals, and how to get along with others.

As children become increasingly more effective at communicating and better at understanding the thoughts and feelings of others, the amount and quality of **peer** interaction increases. For example, studies of peer relations in children have charted the development of six levels of social interaction in play (see Table 3.1; Hughes, 2009).

Peer: Belonging to the same societal group—usually based on age, social status, and economic status

Table 3.1
Levels of Play According to Peer Interactions

Level	Age range	Description
Nonsocial	Infant to 1 year	Unoccupied, unfocused. No peer interaction.
Solitary	Infant to 1 year	Child plays alone. No peer interaction.
Onlooker	2 years	Child's interaction with peers is limited to just observing other children.
Parallel	2–3 years	Children play alongside each other but do not interact much with each other.
Associative	4–5 years	Some interaction; children play in separate activities but interact (exchanging toys and commenting on another's behavior).
Cooperative	6–7 years	Fully interactive with peers; children's actions are directed toward a common goal (see Figure 3.2).

As indicated in Table 3.1, these levels of interactive play predominate at certain ages, yet what matters most is children are given opportunities to experience them all to develop social skills such as empathy, role taking, self-control, and sharing. Recreational activities also help children at older ages learn to make decisions, take turns, set boundaries, and understand rules.



Figure 3.2. Cooperative play becomes organized into groups. Children are interested in the people they are playing with as well as the activity itself. The group is more formalized with a leader, as well as other assigned roles, and play organizes around accomplishment of group goals or specific tasks. Cooperative play brings together all the skills learned across previous play levels, giving the child the necessary skills for adult social interactions.

Gender identity is an example of the role of play in social development. Our **gender identity** is our personal sense of gender, which may or may not correlate with assigned sex at birth. Although the formation of gender identity is not completely understood, at its basis is the process of **socialization**. For example, factors such as gender messages conveyed by family, mass media, and other institutions play a role (Henslin, 2001). For many children, the gender identity socialization process begins even before they are born, with parents selecting names, decorating the baby's room, and selecting toys and clothes based on the expected sex.

Gender identity: A person's private sense of and subjective experience in their own gender

Socialization: The process of learning to behave in a way that is acceptable to society

Primarily, younger children develop their gender identity in play. For example, fathers' play with male babies tends to be physical and arousing rather than intellectual, as it is with mothers' play with female babies (Berk, 2012). Parents often allow boys more freedom to display aggressive behavior and to be more vigorous with toys. Boys also tend to receive more gross motor stimulation, whereas girls receive more verbal stimulation. For older children, parents, as well as teachers, peers, and even television characters, reinforce gender stereotypes. These stereotypes can be problematic for social development later because they provide arbitrary scripts for behavior.

For adolescents, changes in social interactions join those in physical development. To become truly adult and not just physically mature, an adolescent must fit into a social world, achieve independence from parents, and establish enduring positive relationships with others. This means the development of **autonomy** is central, and social leisure experiences provide an important context for this.

This works primarily through the social groups of teenagers. While during middle and late childhood peer relationships center around informal neighborhood play groups, for the teenager the world widens and social groups become more highly organized with special membership requirements and rituals.

Many teens experience almost all their leisure within these social groups. Further, the leisure context provided by these peer relationships is a strong factor in successful negotiation through adolescence and into responsible adulthood (Feinstein, Bynner, & Duckworth, 2005). Especially in social recreation experiences within peer groups, youth learn to manage their own encounters, have personal control over their environments, establish social negotiation skills, and become autonomous in their actions

(Caldwell & Darling, 1999). Exactly how productive these skills become for adulthood depends on the nature of the peer group.

One source of leisure within a social group today is social media. Social media sites and the profiles they contain provide teens (and young adults) a reference point in the process of social development. There they interact with their peers, their most important reference group, and by looking at each other's profiles (real or imagined), get a sense of what types of presentations of self are socially appropriate for their group (Herring & Kapidzic, 2015).

Box 3.5 In Profile

Play for Peace

Founded in 1999 by two former corporate consultants seeking to reevaluate their lives, Play for Peace is a nonprofit organization that promotes peace through cooperative children's play. The program has sites in areas where cross-cultural tensions are common, including the U.S., Guatemala, India, Northern Ireland, South Africa, and the Middle East. With over 1.5 million children having participated so far, Play for Peace is open to youth from different cultural backgrounds, who work together to create their own play activities. There's only one rule: Every play activity is inclusive, caring, and fun. See http://www.playforpeace.org/.

Upon leaving school, young adults are propelled into more adult social roles related to the social institutions of family, community, and the economy. For many, these can be exciting times of exploring and filling out new social identities. For example, some young adults choose life partners, and the impact of this transition on leisure depends on whether residence, employment, and family size change as well. Most likely leisure will be expressed primarily with a partner, which becomes an important context for building the relationship itself. This may also mean involvement in some pastimes formerly experienced separately will decrease. Young adults are also taking on more work roles; thus, leisure becomes more commercial, taking place in bars, clubs, restaurants, and apartment complexes.

If children are added to the family, the time and money spent for leisure tend to be restructured. Typically, the first change in leisure that new parents realize is that engaging in spur-of-the-moment pastimes outside the home becomes more difficult. As well, at-home pastimes become more interrupted and crowded. Yet the family unit is one of the most resilient institutions in the world (Defrain & Asay, 2007). And family leisure researchers have reported relationships between family leisure involvement and positive family outcomes since the 1930s (Hawks, 1991).

Within the past couple of decades, an active area of research on the family has been an application of the core plus balance concept, presented in the chapter's opening discussion. Based on an initial study by Zabriskie and McCormick (2001), investigators have sought to confirm that core family leisure primarily meets needs for familiarity and stability and for feelings of personal relatedness in the family (cohesion) while balanced family leisure meets needs for novelty and change by providing for the skills necessary to navigate the challenges of family life (adaptability). Thus, a family that includes both core plus balance leisure experiences will experience a satisfying family life (Townsend, van Puymbroeck, & Zabriskie, 2017).

Essentially, it is within families that children most often first learn leisure skills, interests, attitudes, and behaviors, and there is typically a continuity of leisure interests learned in childhood and adolescence across the life span. In addition, family members are common and frequent leisure companions throughout life. Yet we know this is not always the case. For example, for women, family leisure has been described as constraining, frustrating, and exhausting (Shaw, 1992). A study be Freysinger (1994) found leisure experienced between children and their parents was more likely to be satisfying for fathers, but

sometimes perceived as another duty of daily caregiving for mothers. Further, families can face significant disruptions: changing member combinations, potential unemployment, poverty, job-mandated geographic separation, family violence, and crime. Yet, in spite of the changing nature and types of families today (Powell, Bolzendahl, Geist, & Steelman, 2010), the family remains a fundamental unit in society.

As children leave the family and assume their own lives more completely, their middle-aged parents change, although exactly how varies. Three leisure patterns seem to be the main options for "empty nest" adults. First, some use their new freedom to turn back to the partnership or marriage as a source for leisure. For them, leisure may become more important as they take up some of the pursuits laid aside during parenting. Others turn outward and seek new and separate social groups and activities. This can also be a renaissance time for middle-aged adults who have not reared children, as when their careers stabilize and become financially rewarding. Finally, some pour themselves into greater work engagement by launching new careers or increasing civic responsibilities, thus continuing the restrictions on their leisure time.



Figure 3.3. Even for older adults, peer-related leisure continues to be important. As well, when older adults maintain social relationships with family members, the nature of the relationship often changes, depending on the presence of children living at home and the care needs of older parents.

Of course, there is another possible scenario for this stage of life—the "failure to launch syndrome" (named after the 2006 movie). It is estimated that about half of young adults in the millennial generation (roughly ages 22–37) remain dependent on their parents, including living at home (Country Financial, 2018). Demographers have explained this is the result of more years spent in education (and thus more debt), delayed age of first marriage, higher housing costs, parenting styles, and lack of intrinsic interest in living on their own (Soergel, 2016).

As we grow into old age, the nature of our social roles and relationships changes again (Figure 3.3). Spouses and partners may die, and socializing with coworkers on the job disappears with retirement. The way older people interact in their social worlds of family, friends, and neighbors is affected by physical, situational, and even economic changes. Above all, keeping socially connected is important because older adults who are part of well-defined friendship groups tend to have higher morale (Searle, Mahon, Iso-Ahola, Sdrolias, & van Dyck, 1995).

In fact, some research has demonstrated friends are more important than family for life satisfaction at older ages (cf. Adams, 1986). One explanation of this might be given from a leisure perspective. That is, friendship is more rewarding because it is not obligatory, and leisure often provides the context for friendship. One of the primary benefits of living in age-segregated retirement communities (e.g., The Villages in Florida) is the availability of potential friends to have fun with.

Leisure and Intellectual Well-Being

It has long been understood that one of the main contributions from child's play is the development of **cognitive skills**. This is especially true of the purest form of play: the unstructured, self-motivated, imaginative, independent kind, where children initiate their own games and even invent their own rules.

Cognitive skills: The ability to process information, reason, remember, and relate

For example, in infancy and early childhood, play is the activity through which children learn to recognize colors and shapes, tastes and sounds—the very building blocks of reality (Elkind, 2008). Also, babbling is a self-initiated form of play through which infants create the sounds they need to learn the language of their parents. A 2007 report from the American Academy of Pediatrics documents that play promotes brain growth as well. Children who received an enriched, play-oriented early childhood program had significantly higher IQs at age 5 than did a comparable group of children who were not in the program (105 vs. 85 points).

One of the earliest documenters of the relationship between play and intellectual development in children was the Swiss psychologist Jean Piaget (Figure 3.4). Consuming most of his life, his research often included study of his own three children. His work led him to conclude children pass through four developmental stages of developing thinking ability.



Figure 3.4. Jean Piaget (1896–1980). According to his theory of cognitive development, the give-and-take in play and imitation is one way children learn about their world. Source: In the public domain.

First, according to Piaget (Mussen, 1983), during the *sensorimotor stage* from birth to 2 years, children obtain a basic knowledge of objects they play with, through their senses. Next, they enter the *preoperational stage*. From about ages 2 to 7 years, they use language and imagination to help build some facsimile of the outside world. For example, young children take dolls out for walks and line up toy trucks in the right direction. From about 7 to 11 years of age, children begin to think logically.

At this *concrete operational stage*, they begin to use symbols. For example, whereas younger children require props to be similar to the real object for pretend play, older children can play with only abstract representations, such as a stick for a gun. Finally, in Piaget's fourth stage of intellectual development, *formal operations*, which lasts from about 11 to 15 years of age, children begin to reason realistically by imagining all the possibilities. Their thought is richer, broader, and more flexible.

If unstructured play is so crucial to intellectual development, why is it disappearing? In American society over the last two decades, children have lost 8 hours of free, self-initiated play per week (Elkind, 2008). Increasingly, children are placed into leader-led organized play programs with prescribed behaviors, start and stop times, and expected outcomes. Due perhaps to increasing numbers of single parents working (83%) and both parents working (81%; Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2016), children's play is being outsourced to coaches, teachers, and play leaders.

Further, several studies by Hirsch-Pasek, Michnick, Berk, and Singer (2009) have compared the performance of children attending academic preschools with that of those attending play-oriented pre-

schools. The results showed no advantage in reading and math achievement for children attending the academic preschools. But there was evidence that those children had higher levels of test anxiety, were less creative, and had more negative attitudes toward school than did the children attending the play preschools. "We're structuring children's time so much that we're taking necessary skills away from them," said Susan Roberts, director of an early childhood learning center. "We're limiting their critical thinking, creativity, self-expression, and intellectual confidence. Consequently, as they get older, they don't have the ability to dig deep or problem-solve" (as cited in Musick, 2018, …Makes Jack a Dull Boy section, para. 2).

So what about adults? Stereotypes about inevitable intellectual decline as we grow older have been largely refuted by research studies. "We used to think that the adult brain couldn't grow," says neurologist Jay Lombard (as cited in Merrell, 2003, p. 143). Yet, as with children, adults given the appropriate stimulus can improve mental abilities well into old age.

What is the appropriate stimulus for mental acuity in old age? There is a surprisingly large literature suggesting that older persons who engage in a variety of leisure expressions (including playing games, working crossword puzzles, and having hobbies) show improvement on cognitive tests (Park, Gutchess, Meade, & Stine-Morrow, 2007). In one study, for example, Oxford University researchers taught 24 older adults to juggle and found that after 6 weeks the intraparietal sulcus region of the brain had a higher density of white matter (the fibers that let neurons communicate). They concluded that any novel activity that is practiced intently, such as tennis or guitar playing, will likely have this effect (Scholz, Klein, Behrens, & Johansen-Berg, 2009).

What about crafting? You perhaps remember these activities: knitting, decorating a cake, drawing a picture, sewing a quilt, making a napkin holder out of wood, molding a piece of clay. Research (see Wilson, 2015) has focused on the contribution of participating in such handicrafts on our mental health. For one, they quiet our anxiety. According to Gutman and Schindler (2007), "The repetitive motions of knitting, for example, activate the parasympathetic nervous system, which quiets the 'fight or flight' response" (p. 72).

This effect is purported to be useful for the health of our aging brains as well. Neuroscientists used to believe that the brain was a static organ and that once it was fully developed in our 20s, all we could do was lose power. But research now shows that our brains are flexible and can adapt to their environment, even in old age—a concept called neuroplasticity (Fuchs & Flügge, 2014). Crafting is unique in its ability to involve many different areas of the brain. It can work your memory and attention span while involving your visuospatial processing and creative and problem-solving abilities.

Box 3.6
Web Explore

Where in the Brain Is Leisure?

One morning, a blood vessel in the brain of 37-year-old Jill Bolte Taylor exploded. As a brain scientist, she realized she had a ringside seat to her own stroke. She watched as her brain functions shut down one by one: motion, speech, memory, self-awareness. Amazed to find herself still alive, Taylor spent 8 years recovering her ability to think, walk, and talk. Since then, she has become a spokesperson for the possibility of coming back from brain injury stronger than before. In her case, although the stroke damaged the left side of her brain, her recovery unleashed a torrent of creative energy from her right side. Watch a talk she gave at a TED conference and see if you can't discover where leisure is in the brain:

https://www.ted.com/talks/jill_bolte_taylor_s_powerful_stroke_of_insight?language=en

Even under extreme circumstances of brain dysfunction, leisure continues to be important in the maintenance of health. For example, an experiment at nursing care facilities in the U.S. uses music, dancing, massage, and pastimes the patient was enthusiastic about at younger ages to replace large doses of antipsychotic drugs in calming agitation and aggressive behavior in elderly dementia sufferers (Lagnado, 2007). And, in the Netherlands, rather than relying on the prescription of bed rest, medication, and in some cases, physical restraints, a care facility has dementia patients take simulated trips together in buses or on beaches. Images are projected on the ceiling above beds. And, in one care facility, a re-creation of a local café is provided in a common area. Even if the surroundings are fake, the alcohol is real, and the jokes and singing, at times wobbly, is enthusiastic (Schuetze, 2018). The shared experience lets patients talk about past trips and take a mini holiday from their daily lives (for photos and video on these approaches, see Schuetze, 2018).

Leisure and Emotional Well-Being

All of us spend our lifetime learning to manage our feelings. Some are very good feelings, such as joy, affection, thankfulness, and sensuality. Others, such as anger, fear, anxiety, and frustration, are not pleasant at all. Leisure itself is often considered a type of emotion, a positive state of mind (see Chapter 4); thus, its role in the development of emotional health is particularly intriguing.

For example, an interesting experiment was carried out on the relationship between mental health and vacant urban land (South, Hohl, & Kondo, 2018). This citywide study of 442 adults living in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, near 541 vacant lots were randomly assigned to three study groups. For those in the "greening" intervention, the vacant lots were spruced up: trash was removed, the land was graded, and new grass and a small number of trees were planted. A low wooden perimeter fence was installed, and regular monthly maintenance was carried out. For the second group, trash was removed and limited grass mowing with regular monthly maintenance was done. Finally, for the control group, the vacant lots received no intervention. Mental health for everyone was measured on a self-report scale. Can you guess the study results? Feelings of depression and worthlessness were significantly decreased for those living near the "greened" vacant land.

To trace more precisely the role of leisure in emotional development and health across the life span, we will begin again with children. Young children have all the basic emotions of adults, but their expression is typically immediate, impulsive, and direct. Most children grow up learning to manage their emotions, so their expression is more controlled and socially appropriate, and play is the primary teacher. For example, two negative emotions children must learn to grow from are fear and anxiety. Freud (1955) argued play helps children master these emotions, and children who are not allowed to deal with them through play can become psychopathic adults.

Later studies by Barnett (1984) similarly supported the importance of fantasy play to neutralize the anxieties children feel. These researchers observed that children use fantasy play to reenact sources of emotional distress, often by changing the outcome or by reversing roles to achieve a more pleasant result. Additionally, symbolic play (when a child uses objects to stand in for other objects) has been found to be a powerful agent for supporting emotional development (Wieder, 2017).

Another way leisure aids in the emotional development of children is through a concept called locus of control. **Locus of control** is our own perception about the source of power in our life. When we have an external locus of control, we perceive that we have no control, that we are merely pawns moved by forces outside of us. With internal locus of control, we perceive we are the origin of our own life events. Internal locus of control is important to emotional maturity.

Locus of control: The extent to which individuals believe they can control events that affect them

As for the role of leisure, we know the more time children spend in a supervised, child-centered play program, the more internal their locus of control becomes. An example of this is the "playwork" or ad-

venture playground (Brown, 2002; Figure 3.5). The concept originated in Europe after World War II when a playground designer studied children playing in cement playgrounds. He found they preferred playing in the dirt and with lumber from the postwar rubble. He realized children have the most fun designing and building their own equipment and manipulating their environment. On an adventure playground, this means children are encouraged by play leaders to play creatively. They climb on the forts, boats, and towers they have built. They play with a hammer, saw, and paint.

In growing from childhood to young adulthood, adolescents often display a curious combination of different levels of emotional maturity. This often awkward mixture can typically be described with the description of adolescence itself. Primary is the emotional task of answering the question, "Who am I?" and leisure provides a context for experimenting with one's identity, particularly in the more relaxed setting of the playing field, the band room, the Scout meeting, the mall, or a friend's basement.



Figure 3.5. The formula for adventure playgrounds includes earth, fire, water, and lots of raw materials. © Berkeley, California, Parks and Recreation Department.

Older adolescents, such as college students, are also engaged in discovering their identity. At this life span stage, leisure continues to provide a vital context for breaking with personal identities associated with family and community. Several emotional transitions occur, such as the emergence of a focused sexuality, and confidence in greater social and economic independence from parents (Kelly, 1982).

Colleges and universities aid in this process by providing real-world simulations. For example, students can participate in politics through student government and in a profession through practicums and internships. Social events, intramural sports, spring break trips, hobby clubs, and other campus activities are crucial in increasing emotional maturity. They provide ways of experimenting with attitudes of influence, dissent, and cooperation. They also play an important role in reducing stress. For example, Ragheb and McKinney (1992) found the more students participated in campus recreation activities, the less academic anxiety they experienced.

The years from about 35 to 45 have been called the "deadline decade," or the time of the "midlife crisis." Divorce and career changes occur with increasing frequency. Predictable at this point in life is a feeling of stagnation. Again, leisure offers a context for coming to terms with the often tumultuous struggles adults experience within themselves. For example, in a study of 1,400



Figure 3.6. The practice of yoga has many health benefits. Add goats to the mix and your spirits will be lifted, your feelings of sadness or grief will diminish, and you are guaranteed to smile and feel more at ease. (See https://goatyoga.net/health-benefits-of-goat-yoga/)

adults by researchers at the University of Pittsburgh School of Medicine (Pressman et al., 2009), participation in a variety of leisure activities lowered levels of depression and negative feelings. "When one is under stress, the usual thing is to cut back on enjoyable activities because you're feeling uncomfortable and you need more time to deal with the stress. But these data suggest that is the wrong thing to do and that continuing multiple activities can be helpful" (p. 729; Figure 3.6).

Meanwhile, the decade of the 50s has been labeled the reintegration period (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975). Emotionally, this is when we reevaluate ourselves and the meaning and worth of our life commitments. This includes questioning whether our pastimes are producing the fulfillment they once promised. As we approach the retirement years, the free-choice nature of leisure makes it a prime medium for life evaluation. Often new pastimes can be tried with minimal changes to family and work responsibilities.

As well, during retirement increased free time brings a life stage in which we can renew former leisure interests, often through intrinsic motivation, because we do these activities more for their own sake (see Table 3.2). Yet retirement can bring both positive and negative emotions. Some look forward to this life phase because they will have more time for leisure. Others worry they will feel at loose ends without the structure of employment.

Table 3.2
Leisure Before and During Retirement

Leisure before retirement	Leisure during retirement
Restricted mostly to evenings, weekends, and vacations	Abundant
Is often about relaxation and de-stressing	Often about engagement, connection, and activity
Goal is to escape from structure	Retirees often desire to balance both structure and nonstructure in leisure
Health less likely to be a constraint	Health is more likely to be a constraint
More income, but less time is a major limiting factor	Some have more limited income, but all have more free time
Technology for work interferes (people cannot unplug)	Technology enhances leisure through social connection
Travel is often short	Travel can be longer and more immersive

Source: Bank of America/Merrill Lynch, 2016.

Alongside these uncertainties is continuity, as people also continue the pastimes of previous years. If they have had fulfilling leisure experiences outside of work, this will be a time of joy. Without leisure interests that are personally meaningful, however, the adjustments of retirement may be emotionally difficult, bringing feelings of loneliness, apathy, and even anger. Expanding favorite leisure interests can aid in these emotional adjustments. In fact, determining one's leisure "career" should be part of retirement preparation decisions.

Why might this be important? Researchers have determined a link between emotional health and physical health among older adults. For example, optimism, resilience, and compassion are associated with better health, while anger and loneliness are associated with worse health (Ducharme, 2019).

Box 3.7
The Study Says

The Secret to Good Health

An initiative sponsored by the Trust for Public Land evaluated all U.S. urban areas for the availability of parks, playgrounds, greenways, and so forth, and concluded that 100 million Americans do not have a park within a 10-minute walk of home. Why is that important? Parks are the key to good, healthy cities, claims the report. For example, a 10-minute walk to a park can enhance physical fitness, reduce the risk of chronic disease, and improve brain function, such as learning and memory. Community green spaces can reduce violent crime, counter stress and social isolation, improve concentration, enhance relaxation, and promote self-esteem and resilience (Brody, 2018).

According to the analysis, Minneapolis, Minnesota, leads the nation's metropolitan areas in providing the best overall access for the most people to well-equipped and serviced public parks and recreation. Its neighbor St. Paul is a close second, followed by Washington, D.C.; Arlington, Virginia; San Francisco, California; Portland, Oregon; Cincinnati, Ohio; Chicago, Illinois; and New York City, New York.

See the 10-Minute Walk initiative at the Trust for Public Land website:
https://www.tpl.org/10minutewalk#sm.0000el0buz1d7zdqxzhuyvbzneuh5

What We Understand About Leisure and Health

The cycle of life is both certain and uncertain, constant and changing. In this chapter, we emphasized that leisure is necessary for successfully growing, maturing, and reaching old age. Though the nature of its role may change, leisure is constantly helping us become and stay healthy. From studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- The core plus balance concept describes the "constant" and "changing" cycle of leisure in the life span.
  Describe this concept.
- Leisure helps children develop motor skills, and in the middle and later years, it helps sustain physical capabilities.
  Discuss one example of the role of leisure in physical health.
- Through leisure, children can acquire skills for meaningful social interaction, and for adults, leisure is often the sole connection to the social world.
  Discuss one example of the role of leisure in social health.
- For children, leisure is a tool for learning; for adults, leisure is important in maintaining previously acquired cognitive abilities as well as in developing others more fully.
  Discuss one example of the role of leisure in intellectual health.
- Although often considered an emotional state, leisure plays a role in the development of positive emotions and in the maintenance of emotional health throughout life.
  Discuss one example of the role of leisure in emotional health.

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CHAPTER 4

Defining and Explaining Leisure Behavior

How can we categorize what leisure means to us?

We have already explored some of the many ways of understanding leisure. Now, we pinpoint the definition in three ways: free time, recreational activity, and a special state of mind.

How can we explain our leisure choices and actions?

Because leisure behavior is complex and dynamic, there are many explanations, and thus we only have a composite and estimated understanding of the phenomenon.

What role do demographic characteristics play in explaining leisure behavior?

Factors such as our age, gender, ethnicity, race, income, education level, and residence help to shape our leisure choices and actions.

Are there theoretical explanations?

Many theories from fields such as psychology, sociology, political science, and anthropology attempt to explain the conditions and functions of leisure behavior.



Why did you choose to take a vacation last summer? How did you choose where to go and what to do after you got there? As you begin to answer this (or the alternate question of why you chose not to take a vacation), you quickly begin to realize your reasons are numerous and interrelated. As well, how do you define your summer vacation? Is it an activity you do while on vacation, such as ocean swimming, or is it having some free time to do as you please? Or perhaps your vacation provides you with a special sense of well-being.

All these questions make studying leisure intriguing. Indeed, leisure has been the subject of scholarship by a wide range of investigators representing a broad collection of disciplines. Some of this study focuses on the causes of leisure behavior by life-situation factors, such as age and level of education. For example, how many factors can you find that help explain an interest in glassblowing in Figure 4.1? Other explanations are derived from the development of theories that are then tested for validity through research studies. In this chapter, we describe what we know about leisure behavior from both approaches. But first it is useful to clearly define what we mean by leisure.



Figure 4.1. Lexington Glassworks (n.d.), Asheville, North Carolina. "Lexington Glassworks began to take shape over beers with friends. Both looking for the next adventure and at the end of our inadvertently parallel road trips across America, we landed in Asheville. Trusting our gut and already enamored with the area from previous visits to Penland School of Crafts, we knew we wanted to be in the mountains" (We Are Makers section, para. 1). © Ruth V. Russell, 2019.

Today's Meanings

By tracing the meanings of leisure in the humanities, and then its benefits, including to our health, in the previous chapters we can see the term means many things to different people in different situations. Indeed, today's definitions are a matter of perspective; individual experiences and cultural biases define leisure in multiple ways. As described in a study by Watkins and Bond (2007), today's leisure meanings are a "continuum of experiences that reflect high levels of contextual diversity and flexibility" (p. 287). It is an experience, but in context it is a form, but not defined by form, and it takes place in time, but it is not defined by time (Kelly & Freysinger, 2004). Therefore, as we now consider the specific connotations of leisure, we need to be reminded that clear boundaries are not possible. Yet, when taken altogether, many of today's leisure meanings can be broadly categorized into free time, recreational activity, and a special state of mind or spirit (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1
Contemporary Themes in Meanings of Leisure

Free Time	Time free from obligations	"To me, leisure is the weekend."
Recreational Activity	Nonwork kinds of experiences	"To me, playing golf and watching TV are leisure."
Spirit	A self-actualized attitude about life	"To me, getting the most zest out of my day is leisure."

Leisure as Free Time

An often heard connotation today is that leisure is the time available after obligations. That is, leisure is a time frame within which we can make our own personal choices about how to spend it. Leisure as free time divides life into separate spheres, such as work, study, sleep, eating, and leisure. Life, then, is all about prioritizing these "boxes of life" within time according to importance. The free time definition of leisure, then, suggests leisure is leftover time, or spare time, and thus of lower status. Furthermore, leisure defined as free time suggests that its purpose is to fill vacant time.

This free time definition means that leisure is quantifiable, and it is possible to distinguish different amounts of it. For example, we often look forward to weekends and holidays because we will have more free time than usual. This also means that as free time leisure is comparative. For example, according to a study by Ray, Sanes, and Schmitt (2013), the U.S. is the only advanced economy in the world that does not guarantee its workers any paid vacation and holidays. In contrast, European countries have established legal rights to at least 20 days of paid vacation and holidays per year (in Austria it is 35 days), while workers in Australia are guaranteed 28 days, Canadian employers are required to give workers 19 days, and 10 days is the mandate in Japan.

A study by Kelly and Freysinger (2004) compared free time across demographic groups in North America. The researchers found that teens have more free time than do middle-aged adults, single men have more than married men, and single mothers employed outside the home have the least amount of free time of all.

Leisure as Recreational Activity

A second common meaning of leisure today is based on participation in nonwork activities. That is, we define leisure according to the form of our recreational pursuits. Riding a bike, knitting a scarf, playing a video game, and throwing a Frisbee are leisure according to this definition. And, according to many sources, the overwhelmingly most participated in recreational activity is watching television.

Box 4.1
By the Numbers

Top Recreation Activities

Activity	Amount of day spent
1. Watching television	2 hours, 47 minutes
2. Socializing and communicating (i.e., texting)	41 minutes
3. Playing games on the computer	25 minutes
4. Reading	19 minutes
5. Participating in sports, exercise, active recreation	18 minutes
6. Relaxing and thinking	17 minutes
7. Other leisure activities (e.g., gardening, playing music)	12 minutes

(on an average day for persons aged 15 and over in the U.S.)

Source: U.S. Department of Labor, 2018

Recreation activity experiences are of great benefit to us. According to Dumazedier (1974), for example, through recreational activities we often achieve relaxation, diversion, and refreshment. Some contemporary scholars have pointed out a problem with leisure defined as recreation, however. For example, in considering the benefit of relaxation, can't we achieve this by sleeping in on Saturday morning as well? Is the activity of sleeping, then, considered leisure? Another curiosity in defining leisure as rec-

reational activity can be demonstrated with the sport of tennis. Is tennis leisure when played at the local park with friends, and when played as part of a required physical education class, and when competing in the professional tennis circuit?

As with the free time definition, leisure defined as recreational activity means it can be counted and compared across different population groups. For example, in Australia, except in the youngest and oldest age groups, women have a higher frequency of regular participation in sport and physical recreation. Yet men participate for a longer duration (Australian Sports Commission, 2013).

Leisure as a Special Spirit

Defining leisure as time left over after obligations and as recreational activity helps us to understand leisure objectively. That is, we can observe, count, and compare it. But as you can guess from our earlier humanities journey, there is more to it than this. Thus, a third category for defining leisure is as a special attitude, or state of mind.

Although subjective, this third definition asserts that time and activities are irrelevant—that only personal feelings are meaningful. That is, leisure is a psychological condition by the meaning it holds for us as our own spirit about living. This spirit often entails feelings of freedom, happiness, self-enrichment, and personal fulfillment. Leisure is a state of feeling satisfied—"a feeling of luxurious well-being" (Ryken, 1995, p. 87). Leisure, then, is a state of mind that fosters a peaceful and productive coexistence with our environment (Veal, 1992). Accordingly, leisure is

- a decision, integral to its nature;
- an act, whole and complex with its own history, emotion, and interpretation;
- a creation, a product of decision and action;
- a process, not fixed but developing in its time and place;
- a situation, constructed in an ever-new context. (Kelly, 1987, p. 49)

Box 4.2 In Your Own Experience

Definition Interviews

Why not discover the complexity of leisure meaning categories for yourself? Here's one way:

1. Randomly ask at least 20 friends and family members what leisure means to them. Ask them to give you one-word definitions. Record every definition you are given.
2. Next, select for longer interviews two people you do not know very well and who are different from you. For example, you might choose someone from another country, a person quite a bit older or younger, or a person of a different race than you. Ask them what they like best about leisure? Least about leisure? How do they experience leisure? What does leisure mean to them?
3. Compare the results from both the quick and more extensive interviews. In an essay, discuss the multiple meanings of leisure and their context.

Demographic Explanations of Leisure Behavior

Helping explain our leisure choices and actions is one important source of understanding—**demographic information**. Commonly studied demographics include age, gender, race, ethnicity, income, residential location, disabilities, availability of transportation, health status, educational attainment, home ownership, employment status, and occupation. All these factors play a role in determining what, why, and how we pursue our pastimes.

Demographic information: Characteristics of a population

For example, our age affects our leisure behavior. This is a frequently researched demographic characteristic because age is an indication of not only maturation but also historical experiences, social expectations, and social rights and privileges. One illustration, in the U.S. state law determines minimum driving and alcoholic beverage consumption ages, and retirement status is usually reserved for older ages as dictated by federal entitlement programs and employer policy. Being able to drive, socially drink, and retire in turn are huge age-related factors that explain leisure choices and actions.

There are many other illustrations of the effect of age. For example, in the U.S. Department of Labor (2018) American Time Use Survey, those aged 75 and over spend an average of 8 hours a day engaged in leisure and sport activities—more than any other age group. Those 35 to 44 years old spend about 4 hours—less than any other age group. Canadians 55 years and older, according to national data (reported by Moyser & Burlock, 2018), spend 6 hours per day on leisure and sport activities.

Box 4.3 In Profile

The Villages

The Villages is a master planned retirement community in central Florida. Ranked each year as one of the fastest growing areas in the U.S., as of 2017 it had a population of 125,165, having grown by 2% from the previous year. The median age for residents is 70 years (U.S. Census Bureau, 2018). At The Villages, leisure opportunities are in abundance. In fact, this is the point of choosing to live there. Over 2,000 organized recreational activities center around golf courses (38), recreation centers (57), swimming pools (20), and fitness centers (30). There are courts for bocce, shuffleboard, croquet, volleyball, horseshoes, tennis, and pickleball (over 100 courts). There are also softball fields, a polo stadium, dog parks, an archery range, an air gun range, and fitness trails. Over 2,500 clubs also offer recreation programs. In keeping with the leisurely lifestyle promoted at The Villages, most residents use golf carts to get around the property via a specially designated network of paved paths and tunnels.



Customized golf carts decorated for a parade. The Villages, Florida.

Source: photonews247.com

As we already know, gender is also a frequently cited distinction in our leisure choices and actions. Although the term **gender** is commonly used interchangeably with the term *sex*, within the social sciences gender more specifically refers to social differences, including social expectations and roles, rather than biological distinctions.

Gender: Social expectations and roles

A great deal of research has been done on gender and leisure behavior, most of it focusing on describing differences between men and women. However, while more recent studies in general suggest gender is a less limiting factor in leisure choices and actions, gender still matters (Ridinger & Funk, 2006). For example, a study conducted with adult Brazilians (Azevedo et al., 2007) found that men were more physically active in leisure than women—although this was mediated by socioeconomic level.

Some of the gender difference in this study might also have been mediated by country. For example, another study (Yerkes, Roeters, & Baxter, 2018) found that in countries with conservative gender norms,

low levels of childcare coverage, limited parental leave, and lower political power for women, women's leisure quality is lower than men's leisure quality. Another study examining virtual reality sports participation by men and women in South Korea (Bum, Mahoney, & Choi, 2018) found no differences in the physical, psychological, or social satisfactions of the virtual reality environment.

In addition to the mediating factors of socioeconomic status and country, gender as a predictor of leisure expression also operates with age. In another study (Jaumot-Pascual, Monteagudo, Kleiber, & Cuenca, 2018), gender differences were found among older adults. Here, most women indicated that retirement and especially widowhood made them reconsider their lives and motivated changes in their leisure practices. Women were more likely to start new leisure activities after later life transitions. Retirement also played this role for men, but to a lesser extent, mostly by allowing them more time to practice lifelong leisure interests.

The demographic factor of gender may be shifting. Some people today are experiencing **gender fluidity**. Gender fluidity is a mix of both genders, and some people may feel more male on some days and more female on others—regardless of biological sex. This inclination is already affecting fashion, cosmetics, and other forms of leisure consumption, such as television programming and popular films. The pitch goes like this: Why settle for being just a man or a woman when you can locate yourself more exactly along an "arc of gender identity" (Trebay, 2018, para. 2)? In other words, since gender is defined as social expectations and roles, perhaps gender in the future is becoming more nonbinary.

Gender fluidity: Identifying as neither male nor female; instead having a fluctuating gender identity

Let's imagine the situation of universal gender fluidity, where everyone individually chooses a position on a gender scale that is anchored by "man" at one end and "woman" on the other. Some may change their biological characteristics surgically. Others focus on gender expression via clothing or belongings (some stores are no longer separated into men's and women's departments), or sports and gyms are unisex, or social organizations are untethered from designations like "women's groups," or "men only fraternities," or entertainments are no longer labeled "chick flicks" or "bromances" (Parker, 2016).

Our leisure is shaped not only by age and gender but also by race, ethnicity, income, residence, and other demographic factors. For example, for race, the role of leisure in youth development has recently become of increased concern in the U.S. That is, while adolescence is marked as a difficult period, within the lives of youth anyway, the process becomes more complex for Black youth, whose race adds an additional developmental domain that must be negotiated during this period. Some have coined this issue "playing while Black" to describe when Black youth are racially profiled in leisure places and programs, including public recreation centers and parks, as well as by private and commercial leisure sponsors (Pinckney, Outley, Brown, & Theriault, 2019).

The explanatory power of income on leisure choices seems obvious, especially for pursuits that must be purchased. As one study in tourism demonstrated, while income does not affect the choice of holiday destination, it does affect the mode of travel, such as air versus driving (LaMondia, Snell, & Bhat, 2010). Similarly, research by Mill (1986) found that tourists with higher incomes stay longer and spend more money per day than those with lower incomes.

Obviously, where we live affects the nature and accessibility of pastime opportunities too. Some pursuits are not universally available because of climate and topography. If you live in an urban location, you are more likely to participate in commercial and cultural forms of leisure. Pursuits such as hunting are more likely to be found in rural areas, while apartment and condominium living more typically offers swimming, tennis, and fitness. Suburban locations are a good choice for organized youth sports.

Box 4.4 What Do You Say?

Going Solo

We're living in the middle of an amazing era of individualism. According to a book by Eric Klinenberg, *Going Solo*, published in 2012, more than 50% of American adults are single, and 28% of households consist of one person. In large cities such as Denver, Washington, and Atlanta, the proportion of one-person dwellings is even higher. In Manhattan, roughly half the households are solos. Nationwide, there are more single-person households than there are married-with-children households. Also, a few generations ago, most people affiliated with either the Republican or Democratic party; today, more people consider themselves Independent. Also, a few generations ago, teens went steady, but over the past decades the dating relationship has been replaced by a more amorphous hookup culture. Further, today the fastest growing religious category is "unaffiliated."

1. Do you think these demographic changes are positive or negative for leisure? How?
2. What might be causing the "going solo" phenomenon? An aging society? Women having more power and options? More affluence? The information technology revolution?
3. What do you think is the role of leisure for such an individualistic society?

These and other demographic characteristics explain our leisure behavior directly, as well as indirectly, via the concept of lifestyle. Our lifestyle can be considered a "stew pot" of demographic factors affecting our values, our attitudes, and ultimately our interests, choices, and behaviors. **Lifestyle** is a pattern of living. For example, you may have heard of some typical lifestyles: retirement, luxury, family, party, healthy, and simple (Figure 4.2). Indeed, many lifestyle patterns have been identified—all based on the mix of demographic factors. For example, the VALS (Values, Attitudes, and Lifestyles) typology divides people into eight lifestyle types based mostly on age, income, education, values, and attitudes.

Lifestyle: A quality and custom of living

VALS is a proprietary tool used for segmenting consumer markets. It was originally developed in 1978 to guide companies in tailoring their products and services to people most likely to purchase them. Such a consumer marketing tool has implications for understanding leisure behavior based on lifestyle because it features leisure actions and choices as a part of consumption actions and choices. For example, Table 4.2 outlines the eight VALS lifestyle types, with implications for leisure behavior.

Table 4.2
Lifestyle Types and Leisure, According to the VALS

Lifestyle type	Description	Leisure implications
Innovators	Successful, sophisticated, take-charge people with high self-esteem and resources	Cultivated tastes for upscale, high image, and variety
Thinkers	Mature, satisfied, comfortable, reflective people with respect for the status quo	Centered on the home
Believers	Idealistic, conservative, conventional people with concrete beliefs	Established routines organized around home, family, and community traditions

Table 4.2 continued

Achievers	Busy, goal-oriented, career-committed people who value stability	Social lives structured around work
Strivers	Trendy, fun-loving people who care about others' opinions and having enough money	Active consumers of shopping as a social activity; easily bored
Experiencers	Young, energetic, and motivated by self-expression; quickly cool to new ideas	Seek variety and excitement, savoring the offbeat and the risky
Makers	Practical people who have constructive skills and value self-sufficiency	Physical forms of recreation
Survivors	Live narrowly focused lives with limited resources; comfortable with the familiar	TV watching and other low-cost pursuits

See http://www.strategicbusinessinsights.com/vals/ustypes.shtml

Box 4.5 In Your Own Experience

What Is Your VALS Type?

After studying Table 4.2, make an initial estimate of which lifestyle type you think you are. Then take the VALS survey to see how close your estimate came. Go to the website for Strategic Business Insights at

http://www.strategicbusinessinsights.com/vals/presurvey.shtml. Click on Take the Survey. After answering all questions, click Submit, and in a few seconds your lifestyle profile will be reported back to you. Were you surprised by the results? Why or why not? How does your lifestyle type relate to your leisure interests?



Figure 4.2. The ski bum lifestyle. The ski bum was first spotted in the 1960s, living in vans, doing casual jobs, and living for the sake of skiing. However, as resorts grew and became more popular and corporate, it became more difficult to live the ski bum lifestyle. However, while there has been an adjustment to rising costs, the lifestyle still exists today. What other leisure-based lifestyles can you name?

Theories Explaining Leisure Behavior

Now we turn to theoretical approaches to explaining leisure. What is theory? A **theory** is a set of interrelated, testable propositions—a system of ideas that is intended to explain something. Theory "has to do with what is, not what should be" (Babbie, 2012, p. 26). This suggests that sometimes we confuse theory with philosophy. **Philosophy** relates to a belief system about how something should work (Henderson, Presley, & Bialeschki, 2004).

Theory: A plausible set of principles used to explain a behavior or event

Philosophy: Beliefs about morals, character, and behavior

Leisure seems to have long been of theoretical interest to scholars. The ancient Greeks are customarily credited with being among the first, but since then numerous theories have been proposed to explain leisure behavior. These propositions can be categorized according to disciplines such as biology, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, mathematics, the humanities, and others.

Some of these theories are simple—based on direct observation, whereas others are more comprehensive, involving extensive research testing. Yet none of the theories available to us completely explain all leisure behavior for all people in all situations. Nonetheless, they remain useful, particularly for professionals who provide leisure services, because they help predict the leisure needs and interests of clients. To illustrate, we will discuss several of the more widely acknowledged theories about leisure behavior from psychology, sociology, political science, and anthropology.

From Psychology

One of the most prominent places to look for leisure behavior theories is in the discipline of psychology. Psychology is interested in how our minds shape our behaviors. Over the years many theories about leisure have reflected a psychological perspective exploring such concepts as perception, emotion, motives, and personality. Essentially the psychological lens explains leisure behavior as an individual's motivation to be actualized. We'll summarize four psychological theories here: Neulinger's paradigm, flow, self-as-entertainment, and reversal.

Neulinger's paradigm. In his 1974 book, *The Psychology of Leisure*, John Neulinger developed a theory based on a continuum model of leisure (and nonleisure) according to the two factors of perceived freedom and intrinsic reward. We explored these two qualities of leisure in Chapter 2. Perceived freedom is a condition where we freely choose an activity because we want to. Intrinsic reward is a condition where we choose an activity for its own sake. Often referred to as Neulinger's paradigm, perceived freedom and intrinsic reward are sorted into the categories of pure leisure, leisure-work, leisure-job, pure work, work-job, and pure job. These categories are referred to as "states of mind."

For example, as Figure 4.3 shows, the first state of mind represents the purest form of leisure: an expression freely chosen for its own sake (Neulinger, 1981). That is, pure leisure is not only the experience of high amounts of perceived freedom but also lots of intrinsic reward. To fill out the rest of the paradigm, we will review each of Neulinger's leisure and nonleisure states of mind.

State of Mind One. This first state of mind represents the purest form of leisure—an expression freely chosen for its own sake. That is, pure leisure requires freedom from external control, and it brings intrinsic rewards. Thus, a specific pastime can be explained as the highest form of leisure if both of these ingredients are present in your state of mind.

State of Mind Two. This leisure situation explains a wide range of experiences, all of which are freely chosen yet are both extrinsically and intrinsically rewarding. For example, perhaps you are refinishing a piece of antique furniture not only because it provides you with a creative feeling but also because the result will look nice in your house. Neulinger referred to this as leisure-work.

State of Mind Three. This state of mind is called leisure-job. It explains a type of leisure you engage in without coercion, but the satisfaction comes only from external payoffs. For you, playing cards for

money (when you do not need the money) might fit this state of mind. The experience is leisure because of perceived freedom to pursue it, but like a job because it is only extrinsically rewarding.

Neulinger's theory holds that the first three states of mind describe leisure. The fourth through sixth states of mind are considered nonleisure. That is, without freedom of choice, we cannot have leisure (Figure 4.3).

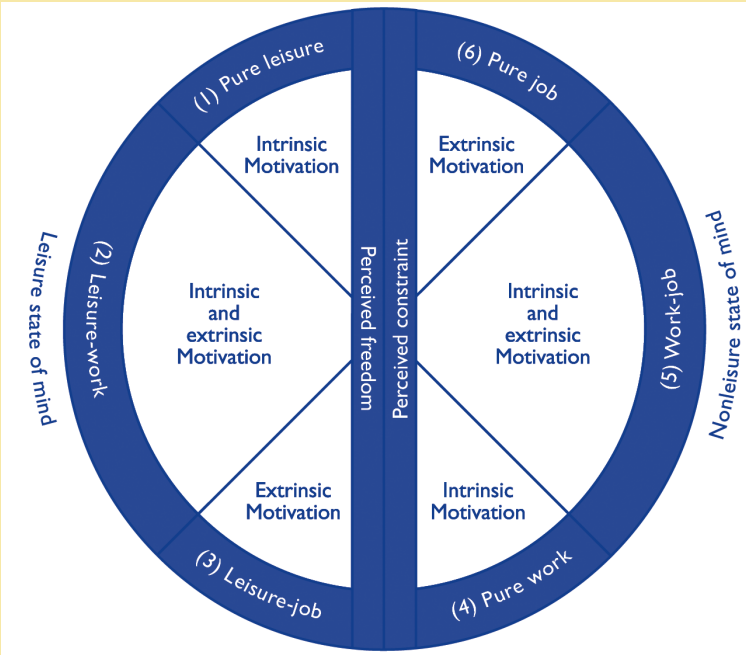


Figure 4.3. Neulinger's Paradigm of Leisure States of Mind (Neulinger, 1981).

State of Mind Four. Thus, the fourth state of mind is not considered to be leisure at all, because even though it is done for intrinsic reasons, it is under the perceived constraints category. Neulinger called this pure work. An example might be doing your homework because you are interested and even enjoyably involved, but which you would not choose to do unless the teacher made the assignment.

State of Mind Five. This state of mind is called work-job, namely, activities engaged in under constraints and having both intrinsic and extrinsic rewards. The typical employment situation may match this state of mind. For example, in one study, the staff of a large municipal recreation and park department rated their jobs as highly meaningful and personally satisfying, but they also indicated on the survey they would quit or retire immediately if given the financial opportunity (Russell, 1993).

State of Mind Six. A state of mind in the pure job category is completely opposite pure leisure. It is an activity engaged in by necessity and under constraints. There is no reward in and of itself but only through a payoff resulting from it. Having to work at a job in its most negative connotation to earn a living is categorized as pure job. It has no other redeeming qualities.

Obviously, there is a hierarchical valuing of leisure implied here. That is, pure leisure is the ultimate expression because it is freely chosen and for intrinsic reasons, and leisure-job is least desired because while it is freely chosen, it is for extrinsic reasons. Leisure scientists and practitioners, therefore, are interested in how pure leisure can be encouraged.

Flow. Perhaps one of the most widely understood theories about leisure comes from psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1990, 1997). Over more than 40 years Csikszentmihalyi and his colleagues have studied thousands of people who experienced a feeling of energized focus, full involvement, and success in the process of an activity. Csikszentmihalyi referred to the feeling as flow; athletes describe it as being in the zone, religious mystics as being in ecstasy, and artists and musicians as aesthetic rapture.

Csikszentmihalyi discovered people reached this optimal experience through different activities but in similar ways. Thus, while flow may be found when people climb mountains, play in a rock band, collect fossils, or play chess, the experience is the same. Flow is a subjective state we feel during an intense engagement in an activity. First, we will highlight its characteristics and then discuss its necessary conditions.

The emotional characteristics of this optimal experience (Csikszentmihalyi, Abuhamdeh, & Nakamura, 2005) includes the following:

- *Loss of self-consciousness*—feeling as though the boundaries of our being have been pushed forward without self-scrutiny. "My focus is always disrupted when I make a mistake and fall," a figure skater (Jackson, 1992, p. 165; Figure 4.4).
- *Merging of action and awareness*—our attention is completely absorbed so that doing the activity becomes automatic. "You don't feel like you're doing something as a conscious being; you're adapting to the rock and becoming part of it," a rock climber (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975, p. 86).
- *Sense of self control*—we feel in charge of what we are doing. "I felt really powerful, like I had the information in the palm of my hand and could mold it any way I wanted," a high school student working on a paper (Larson, 1988, p. 153).
- *Altered sense of time*—time seems to pass quickly, or we lose track of the passing time. "The next twenty minutes of my life passed in a pure bliss," a performer in a rock band (Giovannoli, 2007, p. 2).



Figure 4.4. According to flow theory, leisure is at its best when we lose self-consciousness, merge action and awareness, have a sense of self-control, and have an altered sense of time. © Patricia D. Setser, 2016.

In addition to these emotional characteristics of the flow experience, specific conditions are necessary for enabling flow. These include (Csikszentmihalyi et al., 2005) the following:

- *Having a clear set of goals*—the rules of action and success are clear and feedback is immediate.
- *Autotelic*—we engage in the activity for its own reward; it is intrinsically motivating.
- *Balance between perceived challenges and perceived skills*—we are able to achieve a fine match between what we can accomplish and what the activity requires we accomplish. (See Figure 4.5. Notice, as well, the experiences of boredom, anxiety, relaxation, and other emotions in leisure, when skill and challenge are out of balance.)

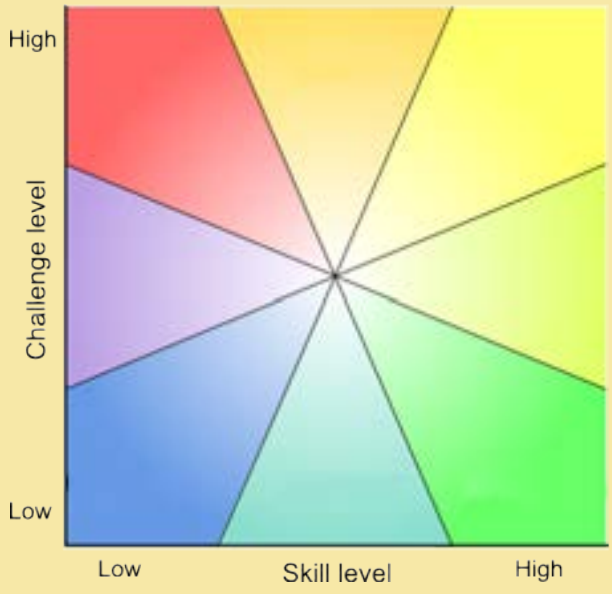


Figure 4.5. According to flow theory, one condition for an optimal experience is a balance of challenge and skill. Flow results when high challenges are matched with high skills (Csikszentmihaly, 2000).

In other words, we are more likely to experience flow when the activity provides clear goals and feedback, is intrinsically rewarding, and contains a balance of challenge and skill.

Box 4.6
Web Explore

More About Flow Theory

Learn more about flow theory from its author at

https://www.ted.com/talks/mihaly_csikszentmihalyi_on_flow?language=en

Self-as-entertainment. Another theoretical perspective coming from psychology is the self-as-entertainment (S-A-E) construct developed by Mannell (1984). It focuses on answering questions about leisure choices based on our personality. S-A-E reflects the capacity of people to fill their free time with activities that are personally satisfying and involving. People who are high on the S-A-E personality trait can fill free time satisfactorily. They do not experience time as "hanging heavily on their hands" or feel that their free time is "wasted." On the other hand, people who are low on the S-A-E personality trait perceive they have "too much free time" and there is frequently "nothing to do" (Mannell, 1984, pp. 232–233).

According to Mannell (1984), there are three possible ways of coping with boredom: by the sheer perception that we are in control of how and what we do in our free time (self), by being able to use our mind through our own imagination and escape to fantasy to fill free time (mind play), or by going places and seeking out other people to share experiences (environment). Those who seek out their environment for entertainment, such as texting a friend or watching television, are not relying on themselves and are thus low on the S-A-E construct. For example, a research study of college students (Barnett, 2006) found that those who thought they were good at entertaining themselves participated more frequently in performing arts. In contrast, those who more typically turned to their external environment preferred outdoor activities.

Box 4.7
The Study Says

The Role of Personality

Mannell's theory of self-as-entertainment is based on the psychological concept of personality. Other studies have tried to tease out the role of personality in predicting leisure choices. For example, Sato, Jordan, Funk, and Sachs (2018) focused on participation in a distance running event according to personality traits. While there is no universal list of traits, the researchers funneled traits used in both theoretical and research literature into the categories of extraversion, agreeableness, conscientiousness, emotional stability (i.e., low neuroticism), and openness to experience. Results indicated that high conscientiousness (deliberate and disciplined) and openness to experience (receptive to ideas and opportunities for new experiences) best predicted enjoyment of distance running and the expression of identity through distance running.

Reversal theory. Reversal theory explains leisure behavior that is based on emotion, personality, and motivation. It describes how people regularly shift between psychological states, reflecting their motivational style and the meaning they attach to a given situation at a given time (Apter, 1997). For example, sometimes a crowded lively restaurant seems exciting and fun; other times, it may make us anxious.

Reversal theory proposes that human behavior is organized into four domains. Each domain contains two opposite pairs of motivation, with only one condition in each pair active at a time (Apter, 2001, 2007). In leisure, we reverse between the motivation pairs for each domain depending on situational factors, including our personality. Figure 4.6 shows the four domains and their pairs of motivation.

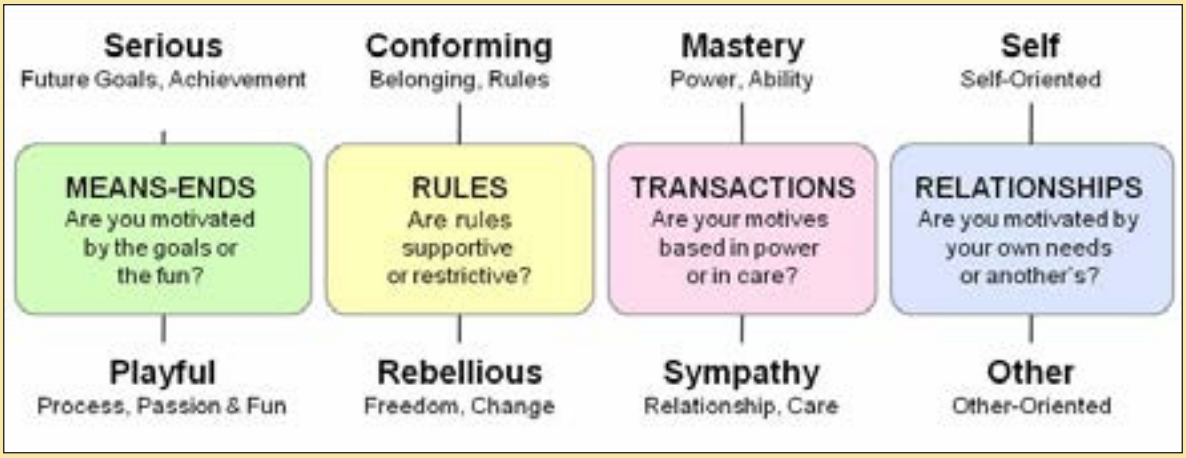


Figure 4.6. Reversal theory explains leisure behavior by way of a match between our motivations and the situation. Source: Adapted from Rutledge and Tucker, 2007, p. 5.

Means-ends—The two motivation states in this first domain are called "serious" (telic) and "playful" (paratelic). When we are in our serious state we are motivated by achievement and future goals; when we are in our playful state we are motivated by enjoyment in the moment. Thus, to participate in roller coaster riding successfully, we need to be in our playful state.

Rules—For this domain, the two states are "conforming" and "rebellious." Obviously, when we are in our conforming state, we enjoy operating within rules and expectations; when we are in our more rebellious state, we wish to be free and push against the rules. Thus, to participate in roller coaster riding successfully, we must be in our rebellious state.

Transactions—In this domain, the two states are called "mastery" and "sympathy," which relate to whether we are motivated by transacting power and control or by care and compassion. Probably a positive situation for enjoying a roller coaster ride requires a mastery state.

Relationships—The two states in this domain are called "self" (autic) and "other" (alloic), referring to whether we are motivated by self-interests (personal accountability and responsibility) or by the interests of others (altruism and transcendence). Riding a roller coaster in a self-state would probably be more enjoyable.

Obviously, a key of reversal theory is the concept of reversal. That is, by triggering a reversal between states (e.g., a toy can trigger the paratelic state or a park rules sign may invoke the conforming state), we can change the meaning and thus our enjoyment of a situation. What seemed serious before can suddenly feel exciting with the right change in situation or mindset.

From Sociology

Sociology is interested in people's social structures. Over the years, many theories about leisure have reflected a sociological lens, exploring concepts such as social networks, social class, social mobility, gender, family, religion, deviance, and other concepts. Essentially the sociological perspective explains leisure behavior as activity adapted to the structures of society. We will mention two theories here: compensation and spillover, and symbolic interactionism.

Compensation and spillover. For a long time, leisure choices have been explained as a reaction to the structures of work. That is, the nature of people's work directly influences their choice of pastimes. Illustrating this are the theoretical ideas of spillover and compensation. Whether leisure behavior is a spillover response to work or a compensation response to work depends on the nature of the work. That is, which explanation applies depends on the amount of satisfaction found in work.

When deprivations and dissatisfactions are experienced in work, leisure makes up for them. This compensation explanation claims people participate in those pastimes that satisfy needs they cannot satisfy at work. As originally described by Wilensky (1960), a person engaged in repetitive, low-skilled, and machine-paced work will seek the opposite for leisure. This helps explain, perhaps, why people who perform physical work choose to spend their free time resting or why those who work indoors prefer outdoor leisure pursuits. One study (Petrou & Bakker, 2016) referred to this as "leisure crafting"—the proactive pursuit of leisure that accomplishes what work does not (e.g., goal setting, human connection, learning, and personal development).

In contrast, the spillover idea claims when satisfied and fulfilled in their work, people choose leisure activities that mimic it. Leisure becomes an extension of the skills and attitudes used at work. Work spills over into leisure (Wilensky, 1960). This helps to explain why some people participate in pastimes that have characteristics similar to their job tasks. For example, we can use computer skills learned and used on the job to socialize on social media sites.

Symbolic interactionism. This sociological perspective focuses on the symbols of life—what these symbols mean and how people interact with each other via these symbols. Derived from pragmatism and the early work of George Mead in the 1920s (Alver & Caglar, 2015), the theory suggests that people attach meanings to symbols and then they act according to their subjective interpretation of these symbols, whether or not they are objectively true (Figure 4.7).

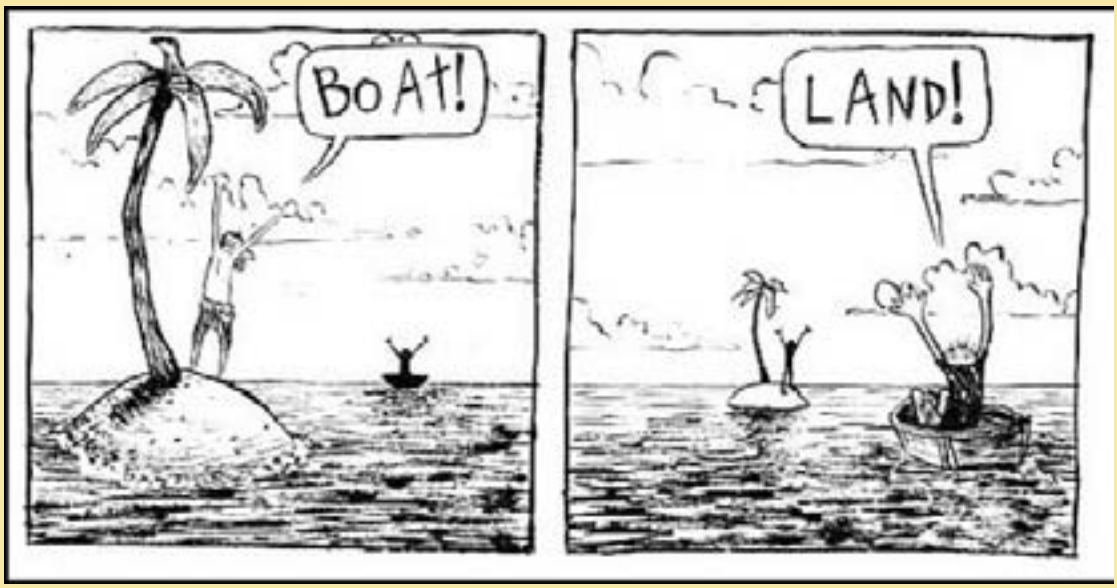


Figure 4.7. Symbolic interactionism explains how people interact with each other via symbols. So what might the interaction be when these two characters meet up? Source: Wu-Wei Research Institute, 2017.

Anything can serve as a symbol, however, just so long as it is outside the individual. Music, art, and sport provide powerful examples of symbols that people use as a basis for communication, interpretation, and interaction among themselves. According to this theoretical perspective, then, leisure is socially constructed through human adjustment.

There are three basic premises to the adjustments of symbolic interactionism (Armstrong, 2007): (a) people act toward things/experiences on the basis of the meanings those things/experiences have for them, (b) the source of the meanings for things/experiences is derived from social interactions with others, and (c) the meanings of things/experiences are modified through an interpretive process used by people. For example, long hair in males once symbolized rebellion, but now it does not.

Consider a basketball team. Symbols might include uniforms with assigned numbers on the back, shoes, the ball and hoops, game rules, coaches, spectators, and perhaps even logos and slogans. Society attaches general meanings to these symbols, but individuals on the team (or in the stands) also maintain their own perceptions of what these and other symbols mean. For example, the notion of the "home team advantage" is often explained by symbolic interactionism.

In fact, a great deal of the research on symbolic interactionism has been carried out on sport spectating. For example, Underwood, Bond, and Baer (2001) concluded that sport spectators compose a distinct subculture whose consumption patterns via the meanings of certain activities or products attributed to a sport or team give meaning to their lives. Further, the behavior of sport spectators may be premised on the shared meanings they have created, such as being quiet (or not) when a member of the opposing basketball team is shooting free throws (Leonard, 1998).

From Political Science

All of us are regulated by political decisions such as the facilities for leisure available to us, the geographic location of facilities, the cost of participation, and even the hours of operation. Indeed, in many places this book discusses leisure as political. This includes material on capitalism in Chapter 11, feminist theory in Chapter 13, and social capital in Chapter 14. Further, the discussion of whether leisure is a right or a privilege in Chapter 13 is grounded in a political posture. In this section, we explain leisure as a topic of political science, as background to these later presentations.

Broadly speaking, for political theories of leisure the assumption is that society is divided among segments with conflicting interests. This conflict suggests behavior is political whenever individuals or groups try to influence or escape the influence of others—that is, human behavior involves power. Accordingly, a political explanation of leisure behavior involves money. Leisure has economic power because it is of value for reward and welfare.

Within this description, it becomes easy for us to confuse theory with philosophy, because much of what we know about leisure politically is philosophical. Whereas political philosophy attempts to achieve an overall general conclusion about the nature of leisure within the context of political systems, a political theory about leisure focuses on more specific and fundamental issues. For example, whereas a political philosophy might hold that everyone is equitably entitled to leisure (a democratic political structure), a political theory perhaps would attempt to explain the impact of a government guaranteed basic income on people's leisure behaviors.

According to Stebbins (2018), leisure as political behavior can be exampled in political participation. "Political participation ranges from voting to involvement in political non-profit groups. It may be motivated by selfish or altruistic goals, sometimes both. However motivated, it is voluntary behavior and as such a kind of leisure" (p. 257). Similarly, in an influential book, Kalimtzis (2017) explained leisure as a political end by relating it to ancient Greek ideas of *scholê*. "Scholê is the actualization of mind and one's humanity within a republic that devotes its culture to making such a choice possible. . . . so that scholê is a principle for political organization" (p. 1).

Veblen's theory of the leisure class. One example of a political leisure theory is Veblen's (1899/1994) theory of the leisure class. We will rediscover Veblen's ideas again in Chapter 11 by focusing on their economic aspect, but for now we will consider it from a political theory perspective. In Veblen's theory, two distinctions are fundamental to human social organization. The first distinction is between two forms of labor—*industry* and *exploit*. The second distinction is between those who labor and those who do not. The structure of any society, and thus power, is derived from these basic distinctions.

First, industry is the making of something new. Exploit is using for one's own ends something made by someone else. As you can already guess, class distinctions evolve according to those engaged in industry and those engaged in exploit, and those involved in exploit become considered honorable because they typically do not have to work. Thus, they become associated with higher social stand-

ing. Ultimately, in the political order, those who exploit and do not work become the "leisure class." (Encyclopedia of Recreation and Leisure in America, 2004).

Further, the leisure class acquires goods. Veblen argued that instead of acquiring goods that are responsive to needs, the leisure class acquires goods for *emulation*. Emulation is a natural process by which people guide their behavior by making social comparisons between themselves and others. Ownership of goods is especially well suited to such comparisons. Leisure, then, is doubly valuable. It signifies that an individual need not work, while providing an opportunity to display goods that are for leisure—that is, not needed for survival. In this way, leisure is a symbol of political power.

From Anthropology

Finally, we will explore the anthropological lens and theory about leisure behavior. Anthropologists try to holistically understand the complexity of human cultures, past and present, by drawing on knowledge from the social and biological sciences as well as the humanities and physical sciences. This leads to primarily studying a specific place, problem, or phenomenon in detail over an extensive time. In explaining leisure, consequently, the anthropological lens is typically a cultural one that examines social patterns and practices across cultures.

One aspect of such patterns and practices is ritual. We will conclude our theoretical journey by considering a theory of leisure behavior based on the idea of ritual: anti-structure theory.

Anti-structure theory. Proposed by Turner (1969, 1982), anti-structure theory puts forth the idea that there are formal rituals that govern people's behavior both inside and outside everyday life. To Turner, leisure is the ritual that takes us outside everyday life. It does this by being antagonistic to everyday experiences. That is, leisure behavior can be seen as "anti," or opposite, structure. It is easy for us to see the usefulness of this theory in explaining vacations and media-based forms of entertainment, as these leisure situations have their own distinct realities for the express purpose of being removed from everyday routine.

Two concepts help to extend our understanding of leisure as anti-structure. These are liminality and communitas. Turner (1969) uses the term **liminality**, coming from Latin, meaning threshold, to refer to the transition from the everyday to outside the everyday. In this liminal phase, a purer form of leisure occurs because it is free of societal norms and structures. Its transitional nature creates an environment conducive to fun (Turner, 1982, p. 40).

Liminality: A transitional stage of ambiguity

Further, while in the liminal phase, people tend to develop an intense comradeship with one another. Social distinctions that separated them before the ritual and that will separate them again afterward become irrelevant. Turner (1969) called this liminally produced social relationship **communitas**, by which he meant a loosely structured community of equal individuals.

Communitas: A temporary sense of social camaraderie

As examples, sporting events such as the Olympics, NFL and college football games, and hockey matches are forms of the liminal experience. They are activities that place both the spectator and the competitor in in-between places outside of society's usual norms. They create a sense of community among fans and reinforce the collective spirit of those who take part (St. John, 2008).

Another example of these two concepts is from the summer camp experience. Liminality and communitas at camp occur, in part, because of the physical and social isolation that is part of traditional residential camps. Camp acts as a sort of "bubble" in which alternative realities, norms, and identities emerge. Because of this, for many campers and camp counselors, feelings of acceptance and belonging are provided (Baker, 2018).

Box 4.8
By the Numbers

Reporting the Research

What is the point of leisure theory? Beyond satisfying our curiosity, theory turns hunches into operational knowledge. It is like the links in a chain: determining what leisure services to provide for people is often based on leisure research findings; research findings often test leisure theory. Thus, theory is the starting place for knowledgeable action. Where do you find all this? There are over 50 theoretical and research journals in leisure studies alone. Here is a sampling:

Journal title	# of articles published in 2017	# of times articles were cited in past 3 years
Tourism Management	242	3,641
Journal of Sustainable Tourism	139	867
Leisure Studies	71	316
Leisure Sciences	63	154
World Leisure Journal	46	42
Journal of Sport and Tourism	22	32

Source: *Scimago Journal & Country Rank*, 2019

What We Understand About Defining and Explaining Leisure Behavior

The many ways of defining and explaining leisure help us understand our own and others' pastime choices and actions. In this chapter, we studied this by overviewing definitions of leisure and demographic factors that shape leisure behavior. As well, theoretical perspectives were introduced. After studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- Contemporary themes of the meaning of leisure include free time, recreational activity, and a special spirit.
  Which of these connotations is most valid for you? Why?
- Leisure interests and actions are complex and unique and thus difficult to explain.
  Identify one of your leisure interests and then list all the demographic factors and theories that could explain your choice? Which is/are correct?
- Nonetheless, leisure behavior can be explained in part by lifestyle, which is shaped by multiple demographic characteristics, including age, gender, income, ethnicity, race, and residence.
  Select one of the demographic characteristics discussed and summarize how it influences leisure behavior.
- Formal theories that explain leisure behavior come from the basic disciplines, including psychology, sociology, political science, and anthropology.
  How do these disciplines look at leisure differently?
- These formal explanations include Neulinger's paradigm, flow, self-as-entertainment, reversal, compensation and spillover, symbolic interactionism, Veblen's leisure class, and anti-structure theories.
  Select one of these theories and describe how leisure behavior and actions are explained accordingly.

- Beyond knowing for the sake of knowing, managers of recreation businesses, facilities, and programs might find explanations of leisure useful.
  How might this be so? Give an illustration from your own experience.
- However, neither demographic characteristics nor the various theories can explain leisure behavior completely.
  Draw a conclusion about this based on your answer to the first summary statement above.

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Part 2

Leisure as a Cultural Mirror: Societal Context

Leisure also helps define who we are as a civilization.

Leisure is significant to us not only individually but also collectively. Like a mirror, how we express ourselves through our individual pastimes reflects who we are as a community, a society, and a world.

Chapter 5

Discusses the historical cultural significance of leisure.

Chapter 6

Uncovers messages from leisure through anthropology.

Chapter 7

Presents our expressions of leisure as geographically determined.

Chapter 8

Explores leisure that is part of our popular culture.

Chapter 9

Debates the boon and bane of leisure in a technological society.

Chapter 10

Portrays cultural leisure expressions that are considered taboo because of law, custom, or belief.

CHAPTER 5
Leisure in Past Societies

What are the clues to the cultural significance of leisure in history?

From the beginning of human culture, leisure has been part of everyday life—leaving legacies that endure today.

What are these historical legacies?

We can study ancient societies to better understand today's artistic expressions, family leisure, leisure as spiritual, relaxation, social responsibility in leisure, mass spectacle, organized sport, tourism, contrast to work, humanism, practical leisure, and leisure as problem solver.



It is not known exactly where and when human civilization originated. At some point, perhaps hundreds of thousands of years ago, successive periods of cultural evolution began. As people gathered together into communities, more formalized rules of conduct emerged, including governments, religions, work occupations, and of course, leisure. Our contemporary meanings of leisure have been shaped by the histories of these past societies. We will explore some of them.

Neanderthals: The First Misunderstood Artists

The most recent glacial period (over 2 million years ago) is called the Pleistocene age, when great sheets of ice up to 2 miles thick covered most of Greenland and Canada as well as the northern areas of the United States, Europe, and Russia. While glaciers are still retreating today, the end of the Pleistocene age is marked by the beginnings of the glacial retreat about 10,000 years ago ("Ice Age," 2011). Living during this broad prehistoric period, Neanderthals are perhaps our closest extinct human relatives. Scientists believe they lived 200,000 to 30,000 years ago in today's Eurasia and Africa (Szalay, 2017). For example, ancient human remains were recently identified in the Philippines, which was previously unknown to science (Greshko & Wei-Haas, 2019). While it is often considered an insult to be called "a Neanderthal," the more scientists study these elusive relatives, the more respect they have gained.

One resource for study has been the paintings found in 11 caves in northwestern Spain (Wilford, 2012). These prehistoric artists drew images on the cave walls, including long lines, patterns of dots, and the outline of a human hand. A more recent discovery, nine red lines on a stone flake found in a South African Cave, may be the earliest known drawing made by humans, archaeologists reported in 2018 (Henshilwood et al., 2018). This artifact, which scientists think is about 73,000 years old, seems to be a drawing made by a red ocher crayon (Figure 5.1).

There is not much to go on, however, but newer techniques for studying cave art left by these ancient people have offered compelling evidence that they expose one of the chief hallmarks of mental sophistication: They had symbols (Zimmer, 2018). These cave paintings are generally described as abstract—the origins of humanity's use of symbols. There is no evidence so far that Neanderthals painted images of lions and other animals, as cave-dwelling humans did thousands of years later. What was the symbolic meaning of these images? Was it a cultural preference? Did they tell stories? Scientists have also found shells that had been drilled with holes and painted with ocher. Could this be jewelry?



Figure 5.1. Perhaps in the spirit of prehistoric cave art, is contemporary sidewalk chalk art, or pavement art, a similar leisure expression? Numerous festivals held around the world today celebrate chalk artists, some who create 3-D images. Denver, Colorado, June 4, 2011: Chalk Art Festival on Larimer Square.

Box 5.1
Web Explore

Cave Art

You can become more familiar with cave art by beginning with this website: https://www.britannica.com/art/cave-painting. After reading the entry, follow up by searching for image examples of cave art. For example, you could begin with this site: https://www.nationalgeographic.com/science/2018/11/news-oldest-animal-drawing-borneo-cave-art-human-origins/.

Ancient Egypt: The Family That Plays Together Stays Together

Ancient Egypt includes several civilizations of northeastern Africa, concentrated along the lower Nile River, that joined together around 3150 BC. Its rich and diversified culture thrived until 30 BC, when under Cleopatra, it fell to the Roman Empire and became a Roman province.

From the study of burial tomb artifacts, it appears that family leisure was vital to the ancient Egyptians. The nuclear family was the core of society and even many of the gods were arranged into such groupings (Brewer & Teeter, 2001, Chapter 7). There was tremendous pride in one's family, and respect for one's parents was a cornerstone of morality.

The ancient Egyptians expected that life after death would follow the general pattern of life on earth, so they kept in their burial tombs food to eat, clothing to wear, and sport and game equipment (Hamed, 2015). Indeed, excavating ancient Egyptian tomb sites provides clues to common family leisure expressions. For example, all family members played a variety of musical instruments. Popular were flutes made of reed or wood, as well as large floor harps and various percussion instruments including bone or ivory clappers. Many types of toys have also been found at tomb sites: balls, horses on wheels, and baby rattles. The board game of Senet is perhaps the most well known, but also dice and other board games have been identified. As well, ancient hieroglyphs depict ancient Egyptians as excellent swimmers and aquatic athletes.

Ancient China: Harmony

In the 5000-year history of Chinese culture, leisure expression has played an important role in passing on Confucian, Daoist, and Buddhist philosophies (Huidi & Er, 2009; Figure 5.2). One way we can understand this is through the etymology of the Chinese characters that make up the word *leisure*. The word leisure in Chinese is *xiuxian*. Chinese characters originated as pictographs, and the *xiu* character in *xiuxian* depicts a person leaning against a tree to take a rest (Huidi & Er, 2009). The traditional form for the character *xian* in *xiuxian* contains the character for the moon, suggesting a poetic scene of a person looking at the moon in a leisurely mood. Alternatively, in a dictionary of the Qing Dynasty, definitions of *xiu* include auspiciousness, joyfulness, goodness, and blessings, and *xian* can mean refinement, and purity and peacefulness of mind (Huidi & Er, 2009).



Figure 5.2. The Chinese tea ceremony originated as a show of respect for nature and peace, as reflected in the teachings of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Daoism. As time passed, Chinese people started to appreciate tea for enjoyment and social value as well. Tea ceremonies went from being only religious manifestations to becoming social, cultural, and traditional celebrations of different events in people's lives.

The ancient Chinese concept of leisure, therefore, contains three types of harmonious relationships (Huidi & ER, 2009). First is the idea of harmony between human beings and nature, with humans beings considered part of nature. The beauty of nature nourishes humanity. Second is harmony among people. All people want joyfulness, goodness, and blessings. For people to achieve these, their minds must be full of sincerity, honesty, purity, and philanthropy. Third is the harmony between people and themselves, that is, the harmony between mind and body, action and rest.

Thus, China's past typically associated leisure closely with personal cultivation, aesthetic tastes, art and literature—understandings of leisure that are embodied in Confucian, Buddhist, and Daoist thinking. Thus, leisure is a product of a careful mind, such as being philosophical. From this, the legacy of ancient Chinese pastimes such as tai chi chuan, calligraphy, mah-jongg, checkers, fishing, hawking, kite flying, acrobatics, gambling, and even Ping-Pong and badminton can be traced.

Ancient Greece: The Leisure Ideal

Although much has been debated about Greek concepts of leisure (see Sylvester, 1999), one constant theme from this ancient culture seems to be its focus on leisure as means to the good life. The philosopher Plato, for example, believed there were spiritual as well as physical rewards from participating in gymnastics. Further, throughout his writings, Aristotle considered the power to think to be the most unique of human qualities and thus was convinced that a life of contemplation was the proper use of leisure. Yet, to him, life should be devoted not only to thinking noble thoughts but also to doing civic and productive deeds (Hemingway, 1988).

Leisure scholars have labeled Aristotle's and Plato's philosophical ideas the "leisure ideal." That is, leisure is a force that can make us honorable. This interpretation comes from the Greek concept σχολή, which translates as **scholé**. This word is also related to the Latin *licentia* and *licere*, the French *loisir*, and the English *leisure* and *school*. By extension of these associations, then, the ideal pastime was in pursuit of scholarship: reading, thinking, debating, discussing, and studying.

Schole: An ancient Greek term for scholarship that today translates to the word *leisure*



Figure 5.3. An artist's rendering of Olympia in ancient Greece. Drawing is in the public domain in the United States and other countries. Source: Pierers Universal-Lexikon, 1891.

This society's interpretation of this advice from the philosophers into daily life provides a legacy for the meaning of leisure today. For ancient Greeks, intellectual pursuits such as mathematics, poetry, and music, as well as dance, drama, and sport, were exalted as part of an ideal of religious expression.

For example, excavation of the ancient Olympic site in western Greece shows that the first formalized Olympic Games took place in 776 BC as worship to the god Zeus (Figure 5.3).

While originally the games owed their purity and importance to religion, later they incorporated a mixture of athletic, artistic, and political competition. Held every 4 years (or Olympiad), and continuing for nearly 12 centuries, the ancient Olympic Games became a series of athletic contests among representatives of the city-states. While intended to encourage good relations, the games ultimately became a political tool in the assertion of city-state dominance. Politicians would announce political alliances at the games, and in times of war, priests would offer sacrifices to the gods for victory. Sculptors and poets would also congregate at each Olympiad to display their works of art to potential patrons.

At the first Olympiad, a footrace of 180 meters was the only event. Later, longer running races as well as horse races, chariot racing, jumping, discus throwing, weightlifting, and running with armor were added. One particularly savage sport called pankration (which translates as "all of might") was introduced in 648 BC and combined boxing and wrestling. Scholars tell us that in pankration all types of empty-handed physical attack were encouraged, with eye gouging and biting the only hits not allowed.

The athletes in the games were the aristocratic young men who had the privilege of leisure. Indeed, social distinctions were prominent in all of ancient Greek life. What Plato and Aristotle taught about the leisure ideal was available only to native-born males who were citizens. Their control of a system of slaves and the limitations on women empowered their lives of leisure. Yet, within this contradiction to the leisure ideal, there is another contradiction. There is some evidence that women had their own games in Olympia (Pausanias, 1918). These were the Heraean Games, also held every 4 years to honor the goddess Hera, the consort of Zeus. Here, unmarried women competed in foot races, with the winners receiving the traditional olive branch garland.

Putting all this rich complexity of leisure meaning together, we can conclude that for the ancient Greeks leisure meant developing the mind and the body through participation, learning, and noble actions. The good life of leisure for the Greeks was a privileged "ideal" of maintaining knowledge and physicality toward virtuous choices and conduct, which in turn led to true pleasure.

Ancient Rome: Mass Leisure

Popular films often portray the ancient Romans as military conquerors as well as ardent pleasure seekers. While there is some accuracy in these images, this civilization also shaped many other cultures with important advancements, including legacies of language, astronomy, religion, politics, and architecture.

The ancient Roman Empire centered in the city of Rome, in what is now Italy. It was the most extensive western civilization of ancient times, beginning around 753 BC and lasting for over 1,000 years. During that time, the Empire grew to rule much of Europe, Western Asia, and Northern Africa. It owed its prosperity to a policy of expansion backed by both military and political methods. Although the ancient Romans borrowed a good deal of Greek philosophy and copied Greek art and architecture, they had a unique notion about leisure.

For example, as Rome conquered its neighbors, the problem of overseeing an immense empire began to require control of the social order. Discipline and careful regulation of a growing middle class of people were required. They accomplished this by what we refer to today as **mass leisure**. There were heated public baths, parade grounds for various ball games, buildings for gymnastics, wrestling rooms, and grand athletic stadiums.

Mass leisure: Leisure expressions adopted by the collective of many people in a culture; mass entertainment is an example today

Often the middle-class masses of people were spectators to professional gladiators fighting each other—often to the death—and to political prisoners, criminals, and slaves being thrown to wild animals. Based on the policy of "bread and circuses," leisure as mass entertainment was used as a form of social control and ap-

peasement, and as a means whereby rulers and officials could win popular favor. For example, beginning about 31 BC, **ludi**, or public games, became annual events in the Roman calendar (Ibrahim, 1991). By the end of the Roman Empire, each year included 175 official holidays, with 101 of them for theatrical entertainments, 64 for chariot races, and 10 for gladiatorial combats (Roberts, 1962).

Ludi: a Latin word for public games and festivities



Figure 5.4. Artist's rendering of the Naumachiae—the staging of naval battles as mass entertainment. Source: In the public domain, acknowledging www.albion-prints.com.

Specialized facilities were provided for these events. The oldest of these, the Circus Maximus, was built for horse races, trick riding, mock cavalry battles, and chariot races. Amphitheaters hosted gladiatorial combats, with the largest, the Colosseum, holding thousands of spectators. The Colosseum also sponsored the naumachia—a ship battle requiring the flooding of the Colosseum floor (Figure 5.4). The greatest of all naumachiae is believed to be that staged by Claudius outside Rome in Lake Fucine. A total of 19,000 men boarded a fleet of 50 ships and battled each other beginning at 10:00 a.m., and by 3:00 that afternoon 3,000 of them were dead (Butler, 1971).

As the mass entertainments became more popular and more widely used by emperors to gain support from the people, they also became more lavish and depraved as each tried to outdo his predecessor. Enormous amounts of money and human resources were spent on the ludi, which many historians conclude ultimately degraded the Roman culture. Restrictions began to be imposed on these practices. For example, gladiator fights ended in the east of the Empire at the end of the fourth century and in the west of the Empire at the end of the fifth century.

Box 5.2 By the Numbers

Ancient Roman Mass Spectacles

50,000 – seating capacity of the Colosseum

250,000 – typical size of a spectating crowd at the Circus Maximus

10,000 – typical size of audiences at theatre presentations

320 – annual military parades celebrating victories

$0 – cost of attending a mass spectacle

1,463 – chariot races won by Gaius Appuleius Diocles (making him a millionaire)

Source: Cartwright, 2013b

Early Polynesians: Tourism

Today, Hawaii is one of the world's most popular tourist destinations. Ironically, its early settlement can perhaps be viewed as the effect of tourism itself. Polynesian seafarers were skilled ocean navigators and astronomers who traveled long distances at a time when boats rarely went out of sight of land. While scholars still debate the founding history of Hawaii, some believe the first Polynesians arrived from the Marquesas around 200 AD (Kamakau, 1992).

These Polynesian voyagers (sometimes an entire village) loaded up their double-hulled canoes with animals, plants, food, and water and headed out into the middle of the Pacific Ocean. They had more than 2,000 miles to go before they would reach the Hawaiian island of Kauai (Howe, 2006). Ultimately, archaeological evidence suggests that by 1280 AD, the Polynesians had settled the vast Polynesian triangle (16 million square miles of ocean) with its northern corner at Hawaii, the eastern corner at Easter Island, and the southern corner in New Zealand (Lowe, 2008).

What was their motive? Were they trying to colonize or to escape famine, drought, or overpopulation? Were they exploring? No one really knows, of course, but given the great dangers and unknowns about the trips, we can at least conclude their actions reveal an adventuresome spirit, a yearning for travel.

Muhammad's Early Empire: Relaxation

Muhammad, which means "praised one," was the founder of the religion of Islam and one of the most influential people of all time. Within 100 years of his death, in 632 AD, Muslims had carried his teachings into parts of the Middle East, North Africa, Europe, and Asia. Today, Islam is the second largest world religion with 1.8 billion followers, or 24% of the world's population (Lipka & Hackett, 2017).

Included in the teachings of Muhammad is another meaning of leisure that is still expressed today. Early Muslims learned Muhammad's philosophy of leisure through one of his sayings: "Recreate your hearts hour after hour, for the tired hearts go blind' (from the Hadith). In the Quran (the Islamic holy book), paradise for the faithful is envisioned as a verdant garden where chosen men recline on beautiful carpets next to rippling water and delight in the fragrance of flowers.

This vision of relaxing was practiced by ancient wealthy Muslims, who spent hours among lush landscapes of pools, pavilions, and fountains. During the day, they conversed with friends and played chess. At night, musicians provided entertainment, and dancers performed until dawn. Women from this period were segregated from men, but the wives and other female relatives and children of the wealthiest men lived similarly relaxing lives within the palace in a special place called the *harem*.

Maya Civilization: Passion for the Ball Game

Today's Maya people are descended from one of the greatest civilizations of the Americas (Bueno, 2018). They live in the same regions of Mexico, Guatemala, Belize, El Salvador, and Honduras in Central America as their ancestors and retain many of their ancient traditions. However, during the "classic" period, roughly AD 250 to 900, Maya culture reached its peak, achieving important advances in architecture, mathematics, agriculture, astronomy, and art. They built spectacular temples, palaces, and pyramids; advanced a technologically sound city construction know-how; developed a numerical and calendar system; and kept written historical records. The ancient Maya were also deeply religious and worshiped several gods related to nature, including the gods of the sun, moon, rain, and corn (History.com Editors, 2018).

Around AD 900, this advanced civilization collapsed, which created a mystery that has fascinated scholars for many years. Some scholars believe the Maya had exhausted the environment around them to the point where it could no longer sustain a very large population, which thus led to famine and disease. Others argue that constant warfare among competing cities led to military, family, and trade

breakdowns. Finally, some catastrophic environmental change, such as a long and intense drought period, could have wiped out the Classic Maya civilization. Later, around 1520–1697, the remaining Maya regions fell to invading Spanish conquistadors.

Box 5.3
The Study Says

Machetes and Sketchbooks

In 1839, two archaeologists, John Lloyd Stephens and Frederick Catherwood, made a journey to Copán (in modern day Honduras). Although it, and other sites, was not exactly lost in a fog of ignorance, notions of this Maya culture at the time were guided by racist assumptions about the indigenous inhabitants. It was even argued by European and American scholars that the ruined cities of Central America must have been built by Egyptians—so advanced did they appear to be. Aided by scant documentation, Stephens and Catherwood decided to see if they could change minds by studying the ceremonial centers that had been swallowed by the jungle.

They set out with basic surveying gear and machetes. Slogging through large mud patches and enduring high humidity, searing heat, and biting insects, they at last reached Copán and found the magnificent pyramids whose intricate engravings convinced them the city had been home to a very advanced civilization. By 1842, they had provided the world its first in-depth surveys, including lavishly illustrated books, which did a great deal to reveal to the world the scope and complexity of this ancient culture.

Source: Bueno, 2018

The ancient Maya tradition included fascinating folklore that was written down in the Popol Vuh, which was first transcribed into Latin and later translated into Spanish (History.com Editors, 2018). According to the Maya story of creation, the gods made three different attempts at creating human beings. The first were made of mud, but they were destroyed because they had no brains. The second humans were made of wood but proved deficient because they were without emotions. Finally, the correct material, corn, was found. For centuries, traditional Maya dances have been preserved by the religious men's fraternities called *cofradias*. Their dances were performed for both ceremonial and entertainment purposes. The *Pop Wuj* dance depicts these stages of humankind's development: the Man of Mud, the Man of Wood, and the Human Being (History.com Editors, 2018). Maya women are also famous for their weaving, even today using the back-strap loom of their ancestors to make clothing and hammocks.

But, from the perspective of the history of leisure, the most notable practice is the ancient Maya hip-ball game. The game, called *pitz*, was part of religious, political, and social life. The players' goal was to keep a ball aloft using any part of their body except hands, and in some regions the ball needed to be passed through stone hoops at-



Figure 5.5. Site of ancient Maya ball game in Mexico. Notice the stone hoop on the left wall.

tached to the walls of the ball court ("Maya," n.d.). The playing arena usually was artistically decorated, depicting various religious stories, warrior triumphs, and transfers of political power (Figure 5.5). The ball game gave neighboring cities an alternative to war for settling disputes (Cartwright, 2013a). When played just as a game, there was often lots of gambling on the results.

The game goes back 3,500 years, making it the first organized game in the history of sports ("Maya," n.d.). But perhaps an even greater legacy for today is the pitz ball itself. Indeed, for the Maya (as well as the Olmecs and Aztecs), the ball was central. During Columbus's second voyage to the Americas, the explorer and his crew observed the local tribes playing a ball game (S. Johnson, 2016). Seeing a sporting event was nothing new to them, but there was something captivating and mysterious about this game. The ball seemed to defy physics. It bounced. It turns out the balls were made of the organic compound isoprene, the key ingredient of what we now call rubber. Around 1500 BC, these Central American natives had hit upon a way to mold and stabilize the liquid into the shape of a sphere (S. Johnson, 2016). Rubber ball games became a staple of these ancient civilizations for thousands of years. Can you imagine today's ball games without it?

Medieval Europe: The Work Ethic

The Middle Ages, or medieval period of human history, describes the era between ancient and modern times in Western Europe, extending from the end of the Roman Empire (about 400 AD) to the 1500s. The former Roman Empire was divided into large estates called kingdoms that were ruled by wealthy landowners. Later, this evolved into the system of **feudalism**, which fostered another meaning of leisure.

Feudalism: Fragmented political and economic power in which people worked and fought for nobles who gave them protection and the use of the land in return

Feudalism produced an individual, power-based meaning of leisure according to distinctions between lords and vassals. Because the lords owned the land and the vassals protected the lords in exchange for use of the land, leisure expression could be bartered. As well, because protection of the kingdoms often required battling intruders, leisure was commonly expressed as preparation for war. For example, as practice for defending the kingdom, lords and their vassals were particularly interested in hunting and sport contests as means to keep their fighting skills and strategies sharp (Labarge, 1965). Pastimes within the kingdom also included performing minstrels (musicians, acrobats, jugglers, and storytellers all in one); games of backgammon and chess; brawling sports such as cockfighting, bull baiting, and wrestling; and social drinking, gambling, and theatrical performances.

As you might already suspect, however, the story of leisure during the Middle Ages includes a subtext. Life was difficult for everyone. People lived only an average of 30 years. Few could read or write, and much superstition surrounded daily life. In the midst of this context, the Catholic Church became the main civilizing force, and according to church doctrine, the way to a better afterlife was through hard work, good deeds, and self-deprivation. This is why this period of human history is often considered to be the birth of the **work ethic**.

Work ethic: A cultural norm placing a positive moral value on hard work and self-deprivation

The Renaissance: Humanism

By about 1300 AD, medieval Europe began to give way to a period in history called the **Renaissance**. *Renaissance* is a French word meaning "rebirth," and in this 300-year period, it meant changes in ways of experiencing leisure. This was the age of Michelangelo, Leonardo da Vinci, William Shakespeare, and Cervantes. Art, music, drama, and other literary forms flourished. This was also the age of adventure; people were fascinated with the world and other people. Books about travel began to flood

Renaissance: The transitional era between medieval and modern times in Western Europe that is marked by a revival of the arts

England, and it became widespread practice for young gentlemen to complement their education with lengthy travel (Hudman, 1980).

Under the sponsorship of wealthy nobles and royalty, theaters and opera houses were constructed, and formal balls, exhibitions, banquets, and masquerades were arranged. The middle classes also participated in festivities, and children's activities stressed creative pastimes such as studies in music and science (Bucher, Shiver, & Bucher, 1984).

This Renaissance emphasis on rediscovery and expression of the arts is the basis of a contemporary philosophy known as **humanism**. Although today there are many interpretations within both religious doctrine and individual beliefs, humanism includes the idea of happiness as its own justification. Like leisure, life is to include freedom of expression and awareness of beauty and to harmoniously combine personal satisfaction with self-improvement.

Humanism: A philosophy emphasizing the capacities and worth of human beings

Colonial America: Practical Pastimes

As one theory goes (Raghavan et al., 2015), North America was originally populated by people of Siberian origin who migrated there about 13,000 years ago. Later, in the 1400s, large waves of people from Europe sailed across the Atlantic Ocean to North America. Among them were British colonists, who settled on the east coast between what are now the states of Maine and Georgia. They came in search of opportunities for wealth, power, freedom, and adventure.

Yet these settlers did not find great riches at first; instead, they found rugged wilderness. The earliest colonists suffered from starvation and disease as they worked to harness America's abundant resources. Little time and energy could be squandered when there was so much work to be done to survive. Idleness was dangerous. As well, because some were motivated to cross the Atlantic by a belief in "divine mission," a calling that rebelled against the conspicuous pleasures of the privileged class of the English aristocracy, idleness was believed by some to be unholy.



Figure 5.6. Artist's rendering of the colonial era game of leapfrog. Source: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (https://www.history.org/Foundation/journal/Christmas04/toys.cfm).

History has suggested, therefore, that the earliest American colonists did not enjoy themselves very much. However, this reading of history ignores that in spite of the hard work to be done and religious reforms, early colonial life included many examples of leisure practices: reading, singing, dancing, archery, shooting, hunting, fishing, vaulting, wrestling, nine-pins, tennis, horse racing, billiards, backgammon, card games, and a lot of drinking at most every social occasion (K. Johnson, 2009; Figure 5.6).

One unique aspect of early colonial American pastimes is their frequent connection to practicality. Many leisure pursuits were expected to serve a purpose. In addition to helping attain a pious life for the Puritans, leisure helped get the work of settlement done. For example, celebrations while sewing a quilt or building a barn made it possible for many hands to work

on the task. The New England colonists took great pains to distinguish "lawful" recreation as that which contributed to the greater good.

Box 5.4 In Profile

New England Puritans

The Puritans were a group of 16th and 17th century English Protestants who sought to purify the Church of England from all Roman Catholic practices. Many immigrated to the New England region of North America beginning in 1630, founding the Massachusetts Bay Colony and other settlements. The Puritan culture of New England was distinctive in its attitude toward leisure. For example, you may be familiar with the long-held reputation of the Puritans as being against all forms of recreation and play. According to K. Johnson (2009), however, this is an ahistorical understanding and not at all true.

New scholarship suggests the Puritans saw all honorable work as a means of glorifying God and respected a lifestyle, including leisure, that was pious. For example, the Puritans of the New England colonies abolished the observation of Christmas, not because it was a celebration, but because it was a symbol of the Catholic Church. They replaced all Catholic holy days with holidays celebrating humiliation and thanksgiving (Borsay, 2006).

In fact, according to Hunnicutt (2013), the New England Puritans believed that wholesome leisure expressions were a way to find the kingdom of God. Thus, ordinances banning gambling and other "lascivious" behavior were not decreed because of an anti-play bias, but rather because these pursuits were contrary to leading a virtuous life. By extension, this interpretation of history has rendered some current American pastimes to be associated with guilt, sanctimony, and hypocrisy (Daniels, 1995).

Another unique aspect of colonial American leisure (similar to that in Ancient Greece) was the institution of slavery. Human enslavement (primarily of Africans) impacted the character of leisure in distinct ways. For the elite group of primarily southern colonial whites who owned slaves, leisure was based on lavish entertainment and hospitality. Weddings and funerals, as well as horse races, dances, parties, and barbecues, brought people together. Gambling was celebrated with cards, dice, coin tossing, and lotto.

Yet for slaves, free time was limited. They typically worked from sunrise to sundown six or seven days a week. Only during the Christmas season did owners allow a few days for feasting and games. Primary leisure expressions included visiting friends and family nearby, telling stories and making music. Several musical instruments used are believed to be those popular in Africa, including the banjo, made from a hollow gourd, and the drum. Slavery was legal in all 13 colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence in 1776, remaining in about half the states until 1865, when it was prohibited nationally by the Thirteenth Amendment. (Note: Historically, and beyond America, slavery was legal in most societies at some point, but is now outlawed in all recognized countries. Nevertheless, an estimated 40 million people worldwide are subject to some form of modern slavery, such as human trafficking, debt bondage, child soldiers, and forced marriage [United Nations International Labor Organization, 2017]).

The Industrial Revolution: Leisure as Problem Solver

Beginning in Great Britain during the 1700s and spreading to other parts of Europe and to North America in the early 1800s, the development of industrialization brought major changes in the meaning of leisure. The changes were so significant to societies that historians refer to this period as the **Industrial Revolution**. Widespread by midcentury, industrialization created an enormous increase in the production of many kinds of goods because of the introduction of power-driven machinery.

Some people were able to amass huge fortunes through industrialization. By 1900, there were about 3,000 millionaires in the U.S. ($1 million then is equivalent to about $30 million today), compared to only 20 fifty years earlier. American author Mark Twain called this the Gilded Age, describing the leisure-based culture of the newly rich. Attending operas and horse races, holding balls and parties, yachting, and relaxing at luxurious resorts were common for the members of this elite group.

Industrial Revolution: The complex and radical socioeconomic changes from extensive mechanization of production



Figure 5.7. During the Industrial Revolution, children were often used as laborers. Their smaller size allowed them to move in tight spaces in factories or mines where adults could not fit. Also, children were thought to be easier to manage than adult workers and could be paid less. Source: The U.S. National Archives, Lewis Hine, photographer, December 1908.

However, for the middle and lower classes of people, industrialization had a different impact on leisure. For starters, industrialization changed the nature of work itself by taking it out of the home and workshop and into the factory. Women and men were now separated for most of the day. For those who tended the machines, life was harsh. Jobs became specialized, so the work was monotonous. Wages were as low as 20 cents an hour and workers put in at least 60-hour workweeks (Fourastie, 1951). Children, many under age 10, worked up to 14 hours a day at only a small fraction of these wages (Figure 5.7).

Meanwhile, housing in the growing industrial cities of New York, Chicago, Boston, and others could not keep up with the migration of workers from rural areas and other countries. Overcrowding resulted along with poor sanitation and inadequate diets. As an obvious consequence, some came to believe that social reforms were needed. Individuals and social welfare groups set up charities. Demands went out for more humane working and living conditions, and workers' strikes for better wages and shorter work

schedules erupted. In the U.S., reformers such as Dorothea Dix (treatment of mental illness), Horace Mann (better schools), and Sarah and Angelina Grimké (abolition and women's rights) worked tirelessly for better lives for workers and families.

Most meaningful from our perspective were those reform efforts using leisure. Activists such as Joseph Lee, Janie Porter Barrett, Juliette Low, Stanton Coit, Jane Addams, and Ellen Starr believed wholesome and enriching leisure expressions would solve the problems of industrialization. We will use as illustrations two of the leisure-based **social movements** of the time: settlement houses and playgrounds.

Social movement: A significant change in the social conditions and patterns of behavior in a society

Settlement house: Institution in an inner city providing various community services

Copied from the British model of Toynbee Hall in London, for example, **settlement houses** were established in the U.S. as a way of helping the urban poor. The settlement house objective was to improve living conditions in cities, particularly for new immigrants. To accomplish this, they offered educational classes, nurseries, play apparatus for young children, sport activities and social clubs for older children, cultural arts programs for adults, and civil rights and fair employment advocacy. Stanton Coit established the first settlement house in 1886 in New York City, and 3 years later, Jane Addams and Ellen Starr established a settlement house in Chicago that became famous as the Hull House.

Box 5.5 In Profile

Hull House

In 1889, Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr, college-educated, upper middle-class women, using their own money, founded the Hull House in Chicago and quickly made it a model for nationwide efforts to improve the lives of people coping with poverty. When the heir of Charles Hull granted Jane and Ellen a rent-free, 4-year lease on his large, dilapidated old home that had become surrounded by deteriorating immigrant slums of Chicago's 19th ward, they quickly moved in and made it the center of activity.



Jane Addams reading to Hull House children. Source: University of Illinois at Chicago.

A day care center and kindergarten were available in the morning. In the afternoon, classes and clubs for teens were provided, and adult education programs were held in the evening. Nearby buildings were acquired and converted into a coffeehouse, a gymnasium, and a playground. Classes were offered in pottery, rhythm and dance, photography, and chorus. Concerts, dramatic readings, art exhibits, and lectures were weekly events. These carefully supervised programs became central to helping people resist the negative effects of the city around them (McBride, 1989).

Meanwhile, another use of organized play to solve social problems at the time was the establishment of playgrounds. In the U.S., this reform was represented initially by the public-spirited members of the New England Women's Club. They established the Boston Sand Gardens in 1885, giving the city's children huge piles of sand in which to play. Later, strides to promote more playgrounds in Boston were made by Joseph Lee, who helped create a model playground that included an area for small children, a boys' section, a sports field, as well as sand gardens. Other playgrounds sprang up elsewhere. Jacob Riis initiated the movement for publicly sponsored playgrounds in New York City, and Philadelphia moved

ahead with full playground programs in the summer. Today playgrounds still thrive, even with slightly different missions. See Figure 5.8.

Other efforts at the turn of the last century to use leisure as a problem solver included the founding of boy and girl scouting, the establishment of therapeutic recreation services in state hospitals, the expansion of the national park system, the beginnings of the organized camping movement, the establishment of private athletic clubs, and the offering of college-level professional training for recreation leaders. Ultimately, the effort was so sweeping in the U.S. that it involved city, state, and federal governments, as well as private and voluntary welfare agencies, all relying on leisure as a tool. This "leisure movement" continues today (see Chapter 14).



Figure 5.8. The playground movement originated as an effort to give children a place to play off the streets. Today, a new play movement has gathered interest that aims to accomplish the opposite. Called "Play Streets," city streets are closed to traffic at certain times, to create new outdoor spaces for both active and passive recreation. Photo: Uni Reading Room, Forest Ave Play Street, Bronx, New York. Source: Center for Active Design (https://centerforactivedesign.org/playstreets/).

Box 5.6 What Do You Say?

Tragedy of the Commons

The exact beginning of the city park in the U.S. is uncertain. Some historians assert the plaza in St. Augustine, set aside by the Spanish in 1565, should be considered the first city park, whereas others refer to the Boston Common, established in 1634 by the British, as the first. Regardless, both had similar uses: People had unlimited access to the commonly held land for whatever they wanted. As cities grew and open space became scarce, the common and the plaza became even more important universally held resources.

However, consequences of this idea have been unintended, claimed an essay by Hardin (1968), which referred to this as "the tragedy of the commons" (p. 1244). Hardin asks us to imagine a pasture that is fixed in size and accessible to all the livestock owners of a village. Each herdsman naturally wants to maximize his use of the pasture by grazing as many cattle as possible. Therefore, he expands the size of his herd, recognizing the benefits from this will be his alone, whereas any costs for the increased grazing will be shared among all the village members. What each herdsman fails to recognize, claims Hardin, is that every other herdsman in the village is following the same logic, and the cumulative effect of their independently rational action ultimately destroys the pasture.

Later, in their own essay, Dustin, McAvoy, and Schultz (1982) ask us to imagine this tragedy of the commons another way. Consider an urban resident who wishes to escape the heat, congestion, and noise of the city on a summer weekend. She gathers the family, packs the car, and heads for the public beach. In fact, thousands of other city dwellers are making the same logical decision. So instead of a cool, quiet, and refreshing leisure experience, they are all treated to a beach with congestion, noise, and crime—to the ultimate destruction of the beach itself.

1. What is meant by the tragedy of the commons concept?
2. Is Hardin's logic applicable to recreation settings today as Dustin et al. (1982) suggest? If so, what other examples can you cite of this?
3. Visit a public recreation area in your community or on your campus. Can you find traces of the tragedy of the commons there? What are these?

What We Understand About the History of Leisure

Over the centuries of human existence, leisure has been a part of daily as well as special life. In this chapter, we began this historical exploration with Neanderthal societies and ended with the Industrial Revolution. As a result of studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- In past societies, leisure has meant many things and has varied in its importance.
  Discuss one of the historical societies presented in the chapter and describe the meaning of leisure to it.

  Also, what is the legacy from this past society for today?
- Not all historical societies had the same meanings for leisure.
  Select another historical society presented in the chapter and describe how its meaning of leisure is different from the one you selected in the previous question.

  Also, what is the legacy from this past society for today?

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CHAPTER 6

Leisure's Anthropology

What is the cultural significance of leisure?

Leisure is so much a part of the patterns of our collective life that it can describe how cultures are characterized, compared, and changed.

What means do we have of studying the cultural significance of leisure?

In part, leisure can be understood by studying material culture.

How is leisure unique in developing cultures?

Leisure can be used as a tool for cultural development. As such, leisure is also typically changed by development.

How does modernity affect the leisure of a culture?

Leisure in modern societies is more commercial, diverse, sped up, and technologically oriented. Is it better?



Leisure and culture mutually shape each other—they are a mirror image of each other. In this chapter, we tell this story from the lens of cultural anthropology: how leisure is formed by culture and in turn helps to form culture. **Cultural anthropology** is the study of human society that incorporates ideas from archaeology, the social sciences, and the humanities. So when we consider leisure anthropologically, we are interested in how leisure and human societies are reciprocal forces.

Cultural anthropology: The comparative study of human groups and their development

First, we will explore basic concepts about culture and leisure. Then we will consider how leisure can be described by studying the artifacts of a culture. Finally, we will contrast leisure expression today in relation to cultural development and modernity.

Culture and Leisure

Culture is a complex and flexible concept. From an anthropological perspective, the term denotes "ways of life" (Chick, 2009)—that is, the set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features of a society or social group (Figure 6.1). It is what "one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members" (Goodenough, 1957, p. 167). Markers of these features are typically found in art, literature, sport, lifestyles, value systems, traditions, and beliefs (UNESCO, 2009). Culture, then, includes the collective expression of leisure. This means our individual leisure expressions fit within what our culture considers important. There are two basic concepts about culture that are important to understanding the role of leisure: culture characteristics and cultural change.

Culture: The distinct ways the people in different social groups live



Figure 6.1. The Olympic Games celebrate not only athletic performances by individuals but also the ways of life of the nations that participate. Summer Olympics, Rio de Janeiro, 2016.

Characteristics of Culture

Through comparisons of many different cultures, cultural anthropologists are able to differentiate the basic characteristics of all cultures (Table 6.1). As a result, we can understand how leisure functions as a cultural mirror. The basic characteristics of culture are shared, learned, integrated, dynamic, and based on symbols.

Table 6.1
Characteristics of Culture

Characteristic	Defined	Leisure example	Related concept
Shared	Values and standards of behavior are held in common.	Football to Americans is different from football to Germans.	Subcultures based on leisure
Learned	We learn our culture by living in it.	In some social groups, it is considered rude to be late to a party.	Enculturation
Integrated	All parts of a culture are interrelated.	When and where people take a summer vacation affects transportation, hospitality, and attraction services.	Example in Poland
Symbols	Cultural "currency" is based on representations.	The scoring system for strikes and spares in bowling.	Whorfian hypothesis
Dynamic	Culture is fluid, rather than static; it changes in subtle but tangible ways.	We now play Words With Friends instead of Scrabble.	Innovation, diffusion, loss, and acculturation

The first characteristic of culture is that it is shared (Haviland, Prins, & Walrath, 2016). That is, culture is a set of shared ideas and standards of behavior. Because individuals share a common culture, their actions are understandable, and people can predict how others are most likely to behave in given circumstances. For example, while sport is a universal element of all cultures, sport within a specific culture is likely to be uniquely expressed. That is, children in the U.S. are likely to grow up learning how to play basketball, while children in Malaysia are more likely to learn sepak takraw—their country's national sport.

Box 6.1
In Profile

Sepak Takraw

Sepak takraw, or kick volleyball, is a sport native to Southeast Asian countries, including Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines. It uses a rattan ball, and players are only allowed to use their feet, knees, chest, and head to touch it. International play is governed by the International Sepaktakraw Federation, and major competitions are held annually, including a world cup and the Asian Games. The Lao people first brought sepak takraw to Canada when they immigrated as refugees in the 1970s. It was so well received, particularly by schools, that it is now organized across that country too.

Source: Reuters/Issei Kato



Sepak takraw as played in Malaysia.

Box 6.2 By the Numbers

The #1 Sport in Selected Countries

Australia .... Australian Football

Bahamas .... Tennis

Canada .... Ice Hockey

China .... Basketball

Cuba .... Baseball

Germany .... Football Soccer*

Hungary .... Boxing

India .... Cricket

New Zealand .... Rugby

United States .... American Football

*Football soccer is the #1 participation and spectator sport in the world with 57 countries identifying it as the top sport.

Source: ChartsBin, n.d.

Just because culture is shared does not mean everyone in a culture is the same, however. Within American culture, for example, people listen to a wide variety of music, including country, jazz, classical, and rap. In fact, we can categorize people into subgroups, or subcultures, based on their specific musical tastes. This demonstrates that while a **subculture** can be based on demographic factors such as race, geographic region, religion, or social class, it can also be based on leisure interests. Examples of leisure-based subcultures include bikers, Trekkies, backpackers, gamers, and bodybuilders.

Subculture: A subdivision of culture often having beliefs or interests at variance with those of the larger culture

A second characteristic of culture is that it is learned (Haviland et al., 2016). The idea that culture is learned, rather than biologically inherited, prompted anthropologist Ralph Linton (1936) to refer to it as our social heredity. We usually learn our culture by first growing up with it, but this learning process is needed for anyone new to a culture. For example, Tsai (2000) studied Chinese immigrants in Australia and found that only after they sufficiently learned their new culture were they able to participate in the leisure expressions there.

The process whereby culture is learned is called **enculturation**. An established culture teaches an individual new to the culture accepted norms and values by repetition so that the individual can become an accepted member of the group and find a suitable role. Most important, enculturation establishes a context of boundaries and correctness that dictates what is and is not permissible within that group.

Enculturation: The process by which cultural understanding is transmitted to new members

For example, the appropriate time of day to eat varies from culture to culture, and through enculturation we learn what time this is. When we eat may not have anything to do with when we are hungry, but rather we eat when our culture tells us to. For example, the evening meal in Norway is usually between 4:00 and 5:00 p.m., while dinner in the U.S. is generally served between 6:00 and 7:00 p.m. In South Africa, supper commonly takes place between 8:00 and 10:00 p.m.

The third characteristic of culture is that it is integrated (Haviland et al., 2016). This means all aspects of a culture relate to one another, so changes to one seemingly unimportant part of a culture can reverberate throughout the entire culture and affect all other aspects.

An example of this characteristic as related to leisure is what occurred in Poland with the demise of communism. Under the communist system, government-owned companies in Poland were required to generate cultural funds that subsidized holidays and trips for employees; recreational services for employees' children; book purchases for company libraries; and tickets for the theater, cinema, and concerts. When the country shifted away from a communist political system in 1980 by implementing market-oriented economics, one essential feature was the privatization of these government funds for leisure (Jung, 1992).

This meant not only that some establishments formerly used for recreation had shifted to other uses but also that with commercialization recreation services were now available only to more wealthy consumers. Thus, with one change in the political system, changes were also felt in the economic system, which in turn affected leisure resources and how leisure services were made available in Polish culture.

The fourth characteristic of culture is that it is based on symbols (Haviland et al., 2016). The anthropologist Leslie White (1959) insisted all human behavior originates in the use of symbols. For example, art, religion, and money all involve the use of symbols—the visual image in art, the icon in religion, and the credit card in money. The most important symbolic aspect of culture is language—the substitution of words for objects (Haviland et al., 2016).

One way we can think about leisure relative to this characteristic is to consider the word *leisure*. According to deGrazia (1962), "Leisure cannot exist where people don't know what it is" (p. 3). That is, one must have a symbol (word) for leisure to have it. For example, while conducting research with the Sherpa people of the Khumbu region of Nepal in the 1980s, I realized many people were unable to understand my question "What do you do for leisure?" because they did not have a readily translatable word for the English word *leisure*.

This idea is labeled the Whorfian hypothesis. Named for one of the early anthropologists who studied the phenomenon (Benjamin Lee Whorf in the 1950s), the idea suggests that language not only provides a way of communicating among people but also becomes the nature of behavior within the culture. The Whorfian hypothesis, however, has received only limited and confusing research support, even though many commonly agree with it (Chick, 1995). As I discovered in my own study, the Sherpa people indeed had a life experience characterized by many of the qualities we identify with leisure, even though their word for it does not translate exactly to the English word.

A final characteristic of culture is that it is dynamic (Haviland et al., 2016). Culture is fluid, meaning it constantly changes, even every day, though often in subtle ways. All cultures change, in fact; otherwise, they would have problems adapting to changing environments and conditions within and outside themselves. And because cultures use symbols and are learned, integrated, and shared, it can be hard for us to pinpoint the specific cultural dynamics at play in the changes. This last characteristic is such a large topic, we will focus on it more thoroughly in the following discussion.

Box 6.3 In Profile

Cross-Cultural Comparison of Tattoos

Tattoos adorn the skin of around 40% of all Americans between the ages of 26 and 40. While for those Americans born before the 1980s tattoos represent something to be hidden and denied, tattoos are now seen as a form of celebrated self-expression. What about elsewhere? Tattoo culture around the world holds plenty of interest for a cross-cultural comparison. For example,

In Japan: Traditional Japanese tattooing is known as *irezumi*. Its history is complicated. Beginning in the 1600s, the government enacted a policy that all criminals must be tattooed, which over the years has made it difficult for tattoos to gain acceptance as a form of self-expression. Some 200 years later, the *yakuza* culture of full-body tattooing formed as a protest against the government branding policy and continues to be popular today. Rich in symbolism, many of these tattoos include Japanese traditions and stories of the koi fish, dragon, phoenix, and snake. Yet cultural sensitivity remains for the exposure of tattoos in public places.

In India: Tattooing has been common for many centuries in wide areas of the subcontinent. In some regions, tattoos were viewed as un-stealable jewelry, and in hinterland areas tattoos were intended as a means to make young women seem unattractive to neighboring tribes so that they would not steal them. In other Indian cultures, tattoos were a way of marking those in lower castes to keep them down in society. Today, tattoos have begun to take a similar form as in Western youth cultures, an expression of fashion.

In the Far North: Inuit facial tattoos have a beautiful history among the people of northern Canada and Greenland. Many of the characteristics of these facial tattoos—their lines from lip to chin, arrowheads on the cheeks, and converging forehead lines—can be found in native Arctic peoples around the globe. Worn largely by women, the tattoos signified a coming of age and readiness for marriage. Later, facial tattoos were forbidden by governments for most of the 20th century. Yet facial tattoos have reemerged today in the Arctic area by women wishing to honor their culture and history.

Source: MEDermis Laser Clinic, n.d.

Cultural Change

All cultures change, sometimes gently and gradually, without altering any of the fundamental ways underlying the core of the culture (Figure 6.2). Cultures can also change dramatically and by design—to accomplish some desired outcome. Regardless, certain mechanisms at work in cultural change have implications for leisure. These mechanisms of cultural change are innovation, diffusion, loss, and acculturation (Haviland et al, 2016).

Innovation as a mechanism of cultural change refers to any new practice, tool, or principle that gains widespread acceptance. A significant example of innovation that changes cultural expressions of leisure is television. Indeed, tele-



Figure 6.2. A couple dancing the tango on a Buenos Aires, Argentina, street. Brought by Spanish settlers in the early 19th century, tango initially took hold in working-class Buenos Aires, but as its popularity increased, the dance spread quickly through Europe, Japan, and the U.S. during the 1900s. As it has spread, different styles have emerged, yet its intimacy and creativity remain its distinct character.

vision has changed just about everything, almost everywhere. When television was introduced in the 1940s, very few homes could afford the "box." By 1950, only 9% of American homes had it, but its popularity grew quickly and 5 years later the television was in 65% of households. Today, the percentage of total U.S. homes with televisions receiving traditional TV signals via broadcast, cable, DBS, or Telco, or via a broadband Internet connection is 95.9% (Nielsen Media Research, 2018).

Innovation: A chance discovery that gains widespread acceptance

Initially, the impact of this innovation was felt in the role of TV as an advertising medium. As well, it was nearly a perfect expression of suburban leisure as it celebrated domesticity in the sitcom program format and warned of urban dangers in the action-adventure shows (Cross, 1990). Since then the impact of television has been widely and thoroughly studied and commented on. Table 6.2 summarizes some of the changes to leisure resulting from the innovation of television.

Table 6.2
Changes in Leisure Culture From the Invention of Television

- People stay home more.
- Household timetables changed, with "prime time" now devoted to entertainment rather than to family, religion, and education.
- Less socializing in the family, neighborhood, and community and increased social isolation.
- Television characters used as role models.
- Freakishness and sensation treated with solemn importance.
- Expansion of forms of leisure such as the arts, cooking, travel, and sports.
- Development of new forms of leisure, such as extreme sports.
- A more homogenized expression of leisure across all members of the culture, as well as across cultures themselves.

Diffusion is another mechanism of cultural change. Diffusion is the spread or borrowing of customs or practices from one culture to another. So common is diffusion that anthropologist Ralph Linton suggested that 90% of any culture's content is borrowed (Haviland et al., 2016). One major example of cultural change brought about by diffusion is McDonald's restaurants. What began as a single establishment in Des Plaines, Illinois, in 1955 has now expanded to more than 36,899 restaurants in 120 countries (McDonald's Corporate, n.d.). Yet, while global in its market, the company also encourages local operators to tailor menu items to local tastes, such as the Veg Pizza McPuff in India, the Shrimp Burger in South Korea, and the Cordon Bleu Burger in Poland.

Diffusion: The spread of customs from one culture to another

The mechanism of diffusion does not always cause major cultural change. This is because people are choosy about their borrowing and pick only things that are compatible with their existing culture. For example, songs, sports, dances, and art forms introduced in one culture spread to others and are often changed in accordance with the dominant values of the receiving culture. Heider (1977) described a game of physical skill developed in Java, Indonesia, and later introduced in a highland New Guinea tribe. New Guinean culture valued noncompetitiveness, so when playing the Javanese game, they disregarded scorekeeping and rules to keep with their own cultural values (Chick, 1995).

As our discussion has led us so far, most often we think of cultural change as an accumulation of innovations and borrowings; new things are added to those already in a culture. This is not always the case, of course, and frequently the acceptance of an innovation or borrowing leads to loss in a culture. This is **cultural loss** (Haviland et al., 2016).

Box 6.4 What Do You Say?

UNESCO Preserves Djenné, Mali

Djenné, Mali, is one of the oldest towns in sub-Saharan Africa. Inhabited since 250 BC, the area is an ensemble of nearly 2,000 houses, a mosque, and other civic buildings that over many years have represented typical Islamic architecture. Characterized by the intensive and remarkable use of earth, the architecture of the town, with a distinctive style of buttresses and intricate facades, contains great monumental and religious value. Excavations carried out in 1977, 1981, 1996, and 1997 revealed an extraordinary page of human history—of a long-gone pre-Islamic civilization. So significant is this ancient city that to protect it from harm, in 1988 the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) declared Djenné a World Heritage Site.

Abba Maiga stood in his dirt courtyard in Djenné, seething over the fact that his 150-year-old mud house is so culturally precious he is not allowed to update it—no tile floors, no screen doors, no shower. This is because the guidelines established by UNESCO demand that any reconstruction not substantially alter the original. "But we want development, more space, new appliances – things that are modern" (from MacFarquhar, 2011). He and his fellow Djenné residents feel their lives are frozen in time like pieces in a museum—so that visitors can come and gawk.



1. What are the goals of the World Heritage Site program? Check out http://whc.unesco.org and read about the current list of sites and the criteria for being on the list.
2. What do you think are the advantages and disadvantages of the program? Can the disadvantages be reduced or eliminated and still maintain the advantages?
3. How is Djenné an example of cultural loss? In what areas near you has tourism created a local example of cultural loss?

Cultural loss: Change resulting in the loss of a cultural tradition

Acculturation: A merging of cultures as a result of prolonged contact

A final mechanism of cultural change is acculturation. **Acculturation** occurs when different cultures come into intensive firsthand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of one or both (Haviland et al., 2016). Acculturation implies a mutual influence in which elements of the two cultures mingle and merge. It has been hypothesized that for acculturation to occur, some relative cultural equality has to exist between the giving and receiving cultures. Acculturation is a complex cultural change concept, with different anthropologists proposing different outcomes. For example, Berry (1986) suggested four possible outcomes of the acculturation process: assimilation, integration, rejection, or marginalization.

Assimilation: To adopt the ways of the main culture

Assimilation is the first outcome from acculturation. While assimilation can happen at the individual level, here we refer to the process whereby a minority group gradually adopts the customs and attitudes of the prevailing dominant group. For example, in mass

tourism, to succeed the tourism hosts (in this case a minority group) sometimes must adopt the expectations and attitudes of the tourists (the majority group; Figure 6.3).

Integration is another way a culture can change as a result of acculturation. When integration results, there is a merging of the two cultures. This is the "melting pot" idea. We usually refer to integration as the bringing of people of different racial or ethnic groups into unrestricted and equal association. For an example, consider the leisure organizations to which you belong. Are they integrated? The word integration comes from the Latin word *integer*, meaning whole, thus we can also describe integration of cultures as cultures becoming whole and unified.

Integration: Combining parts so they form a new whole



Figure 6.3. Even wildlife has needed to assimilate to the culture of the tourist.

Rejection, on the other hand, is directly opposite of integration. When rejection results from the prolonged contact between two cultures, each culture reaffirms its own traditions and ways, rejecting those of the other culture. One example might be the Amish in North America, who maintain a principled rejection of modernity. As distinct from the majority cultures of North America, Amish leisure, for the most part, is not commercialized and remains connected to nature. It is almost always community oriented, revolving around family and friends.

Rejection: Denial and avoidance of others

Finally, **marginalization** is the label applied to relegating a group to a lower or outer edge. Common examples of marginalized groups in our societies include persons living with disabilities, women, racial minorities, the poor, children, the elderly, single parents, and even White men. Yet marginalization does not only refer to groups of people; we can also find examples in other types of groups.

Marginalization: To relegate to an unimportant or powerless position within a group

For example, we will consider works of art. If you visit galleries and museums in North America, you will notice an illustration of marginalized art. The Metropolitan Museum of Art (n.d.) in New York City, for instance, had difficulties with its considerable yet under-cataloged and minimally displayed holdings of Islamic art. The musuem closed this collection in 2003 for renovation and expansion to correct this marginalization. The new galleries reopened in 2011 featuring art of Arab Lands: Turkey, Iran, Central Asia, and South Asia. Of course, the former treatment of the collection was not only the museum's fault, as Western audiences also hold a cultural bias against appreciating the aesthetic of traditional Islamic art forms such as ceramics, textiles, and calligraphy. Western museum visitors see these as decorative arts and prefer the high art of three-dimensional sculpture and easel painting.

Material Culture and Leisure

A fascinating area of study within anthropology is material culture. **Material culture** is the physical objects made and used by a culture. It includes the behaviors, norms, and rituals associated with these objects. Examples include buildings, clothing, monuments, machines, and tools. A discussion of mate-

rial culture in leisure might include examples such as food and drink, books, art, music, theatre, dance, and holiday celebrations. Forms of recreational activity are also examples of material culture.

Material culture: Artifacts that humans use to survive; define social relationships; represent facets of identity; or benefit their state of mind, social, or economic standing

In fact, much of this book is about the material cultures of leisure. For example, in Chapter 1, we explore the meanings of leisure through art, music, and literature. In Chapter 8, we study popular leisure expressions such as television, spectator sports, films, and amusement parks. Further, in Chapter 9, we search for expressions of leisure in technology, including social media and virtual reality. From an anthropological perspective, all are examples of the material culture of our lives.

One example of the material culture of leisure that has been of interest for many years is dolls. As you know, a doll is a model of a human being, often used as a toy for children. Traditionally, however, dolls were also used in magic and religious rituals throughout the world and were originally made of clay and wood. The earliest documented dolls go back to the ancient civilizations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome. Modern doll making has its roots in Germany from the 15th century, and with industrialization of new materials such as porcelain and plastic, dolls could be mass produced. During the 20th century, dolls became popular as a collecting hobby.

Box 6.5 The Study Says

Bad News for Barbie?

So, the big question is, is Barbie bad for young girls' self-image? The concern started in the 2000s, when studies came out showing that overly thin dolls made girls feel badly about their own body. One of these studies showed that 5-year-old girls who were read a storybook with photographs of Barbie dolls (U.S. size 2) felt worse about their bodies and expressed a stronger desire to be thin than girls who were read a storybook with pictures of an Emme doll (U.S. size 16) or girls who were read a storybook with pictures of neutral objects, such as balloons (Dittmar, Halliwell, & Ive, 2006). In another study, when asked to describe the traits of three dolls—one thin, one average, and one heavy—preschool-aged girls were most likely to call the thin doll smart or happy and the heavy doll sad or tired (Worobey & Worobey, 2014).



President and Vice President Barbie, Mattel, 2016.

However, across the studies there is no evidence that playing with Barbie dolls has a long-term effect on self-esteem. For example, in a study where researchers asked over 200 adults to describe how much they played with Barbie dolls growing up, there was no relationship between how much they played with Barbie and how they felt about their bodies as adults (Worobey, 2009).

A specific branch of anthropology, archaeology, is interested in studying the doll artifacts found in ancient architectural and burial sites. One perspective in this line of research is the concept of attachment objects, that is, material culture that serves as vital emotional tools (Bell & Spikins, 2018). One example of this is a small figurine thought to represent a pig discovered in a pit dug into the top of Stonehenge, a prehistoric monument in England. It was one of a number of deposits found in an infant's grave dating to the Middle Bronze Age (Bell & Spikins, 2018). It has small stubs for legs and large, floppy ears. The Stonehenge pig attracted the attention of the media at the time of its discovery, being claimed as Britain's oldest toy (Owen, 2008). Yet, more than a play thing, this small object may have been

significant as an object providing an infant with feelings of comfort and security. Indeed, interpreting other worn or crudely made figurines found in children's burials throughout prehistory helps confirm an aspect of the significance of material culture for attachment purposes. Do you have a favorite doll or stuffed animal that gave you comfort when you were a child and remains a powerful attachment for you in your life now?

Box 6.6 Web Explore

The Material World

In an unprecedented effort, 16 of the world's foremost photographers traveled to 30 nations around the globe to live for a week with families that were statistically average for that nation. At the end of each visit, photographers and families collaborated on a remarkable portrait of the family members, outside their home, surrounded by all their possessions. The project was published in a book in 1995, so check it out for yourself to appreciate the role of leisure in cultural identity. Study the photos on these websites for evidence of the changing nature of leisure between more and less developed countries:

http://menzelphoto.photoshelter.com/gallery-collection/Material-World-A-Global-Family-Portrait-by-Country/C0000d0DI3dBy4mQ

or

http://www.npr.org/sections/pictureshow/2010/08/10/129113632/picturingpossessions

Ten years later, the research strategy was repeated, focusing this time on what people eat around the world. Check out these cross-cultural comparisons:

https://menzelphoto.photoshelter.com/gallery/Hungry-Planet-Family-Food-Portraits/G0000zmgWvU6SiKM/C0000k7JgEHhEq0w

Cultural Development and Leisure

Development simply means the extent to which the resources of a group have been brought into full productivity. In common usage, cultural development refers to economic growth and modernization. Today, cultures can be identified according to the extent of their development. In this final section of the chapter, we discuss what cultural development means to the expression of leisure. The conclusion is there are advantages and disadvantages.

Development: The process of improving the material conditions of people through the use of knowledge and technology

Developing was the term U.S. President Harry S. Truman introduced in 1949 as a replacement for *backward*, the unflattering reference then in use to describe undeveloped countries. Since then, we have continued to grapple with how to label world cultures according to the amount of development. Various international organizations have started to use the term *less economically developed country* for the poorest nations, which restricts the concept to gross domestic product (GDP). For example, the country of Switzerland has an annual GDP per capita of $80,189.70 (in U.S. dollars), while the country of Ethiopia's GDP per capita is $767.56 (World Bank, n.d.).

But, "development" of a culture means more than simply GDP. In addition to income per capita, today the development of a country is measured with other statistical indexes including population growth, industrialization, environmental degradation, expenditures for education, life expectancy, rate of literacy, employment, health, and many others.

Cultural Vitality

In fact, according to the United Nations, development is measured as a combination of three basic factors: economic, social, and demographic. Several international organizations have worked on using these factors to determine an overall "score" of cultural development.

For example, the Quality of Life Index, produced by the website Numbeo (n.d.), incorporates the indicators of cost of living, property prices, traffic, crime, health care, pollution, and others to determine that Denmark, Switzerland, and Finland are the most highly developed cultures. Also, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2017) sponsors an interactive calculation for cultural vitality that is based on the indicators of housing, education, environment, civic engagement, health, life satisfaction, work–life balance, and others. It is called the Better Life Initiative and the goal is to understand what drives the well-being of people and nations and what needs to be done to achieve greater progress through policy making. Uniquely, on their website you can prioritize the indicators and 111 countries are ranked accordingly. As well, the Human Development Index (HDI), sponsored by the United Nations, combines seven indicators into the three dimensions of long and healthy life, knowledge (education), and decent standard of living to produce a composite score. For example, in 2018, Norway, Switzerland, and Australia ranked the highest for these criteria on the HDI.

Another way we can interpret development is to notice how leisure relates to the quality of living cross-culturally. For example, in developing countries such as Thailand, the Philippines, and Indonesia, leisure is richly laced with the traditions and folkways of the culture. Music, dance, and art forms are woven into the fabric of society in ways uncommon in more developed countries such as Australia and Canada.

One way developing countries attempt to make progress and become more developed is to embrace new income-generating efforts that sometimes mean the ruin of traditions and folkways. On the other hand, traditional arts and crafts are possibly updated and exported as a result of development. As an illustration, today, tourism is perhaps the single largest use of leisure as a development tool. In countries such as Malaysia, which over the past 30 years has raised its level of development, tourism is a leading foreign exchange earner and thus a prime motivator for enhancing the infrastructure of the country.

Leisure relates to development in other ways, as well. Basically, leisure can be an important source of growth, as it widens the relationship of a culture to the environment, builds social identity and harmony, and contributes other provisions of well-being. For example, research by Ryff and Keyes (1995) found individual self-acceptance, positive relationships with others, autonomy, purpose in life, and personal growth to be associated with the well-being of a culture. Also, Diener and Diener's (1995) study showed that individualism, human rights, and social equality were also decisive factors. All of these features can be produced by a vibrant leisure culture.

Modernity

Another way we can explore leisure and cultural development is via the concept of modernity. **Modernization** is the transformation from a traditional, rural, agrarian society to a secular, urban, industrial society. It results in the multiplying of institutions, as the simple structures of traditional societies are transformed into complex ones. This means that the process of modernizing is a progression through stages of increasing complexity of technology and social organization. Modernization can be considered the goal of cultural development.

Modernization: A transition involving the implementation of recent techniques, methods, or ideas

Unfortunately, this suggests that "becoming modern" carries a connotation of "becoming like us," because of the idea that underdeveloped societies aspire to modernization. Accordingly, there is a clear implication that not being like us is to be antiquated and obsolete. We realize this perspective is ethno-

centric, because it insists these other societies must be changed to be more modern, and like us, irrespective of other considerations, including traditional ways of life.

Box 6.7 In Your Own Experience

An Ethnocentric Perspective

Check those statements you think indicate an ethnocentric perspective:

[ ] When reading, it is natural that we read from left to right and top to bottom.

[ ] On a toggle switch, the universal position for "on" is up.

[ ] Placing an X in a box indicates acceptance of that item.

[ ] Using chopsticks at every meal to eat is silly.

[ ] In Britain, drivers drive on the wrong side of the road.

Answers: All statements reflect ethnocentricity. For example, in some countries the switch position for "on" is down, and in Japan, placing an X in a box indicates nonacceptance.

Even though people in every culture, developed and underdeveloped, have at least some feelings of **ethnocentricity**, it seems Western cultures are particularly good examples. We will consider football. Around the world, there are several versions of football. That played in Australia is different from that played in the U.S., and the football played in most other countries is labeled soccer by Americans—not football at all, according to their perspective.

Ethnocentricity: The belief that your own cultural or ethnic group is superior to that of others

Since an ethnocentric view of modernization is less useful, then, we will explore a more anthropologically sound one. The process of modernization may be best understood as made up of four subprocesses: technological development, agricultural development, industrialization, and urbanization (Haviland et al., 2016). These elements are interrelated and occur simultaneously. First, with modernization, traditional knowledge and techniques are replaced by scientific knowledge and techniques. Likewise, the culture shifts from an emphasis on subsistence farming to commercial farming. Industrialization occurs when work is done by machines rather than by humans and animals, and the population generally moves from rural settlements into cities.

Modernization suggests other changes, as well. For example, political parties and some sort of electoral system likely appear, along with a bureaucracy. There is also usually an expansion of learning opportunities and literacy increases. Typically, there are improvements in health care. However, the environment usually becomes more precious, as industrial pollution renders air, water, and soil quality and supplies more fragile.

People's daily lives change as a result of modernization, too. With modernity, we become busier as time efficiency becomes more important. In fact, one of the most noticeable signs of modernity is that efficiency becomes an important cultural value (Godbey, 2006). The impact of modernization can be extreme and dramatic, and cultures may not always be better off as a result. For example, as modernization increases within a society, the individual becomes that much more important, eventually replacing the family or community as the fundamental unit of society. This critique of modernization can be expressed in the concept of **postmodernism**.

Postmodernism: Skeptical reaction to modernism

The term *postmodernism* is very slippery to define because it can mean different things when applied to literature, art, philosophy, and

even architecture. For example, in these areas the term refers to a controversial art and design movement. Between 1970 and 1990 postmodernism shattered established ideas about modern art, bringing a new self-awareness about style.

Postmodernism in the sense we use it here, on the other hand, is largely a reaction to the assumed certainty of modernity. It is based on the position that reality is not mirrored in human understanding of it but is rather constructed as the mind tries to understand its own personal reality. Postmodernism is therefore skeptical of explanations that claim to be valid for all groups, cultures, traditions, or races and instead focuses on the relative truths of each person. In a sense, it is freedom of expression and the reinterpretation of individual meaning.

In terms of cultural development, postmodernism refers to the undesirable changes wrought by modernization. We can all readily observe that in the last few decades, the nature of modern societies has changed dramatically. Social theorists have commented about these changes by applying labels such as a "media society," a "society of spectacle," and a "consumer society." Today, modern cultures are indeed dominated by consumption, media, and flashiness. From a postmodern perspective, this means we live in a fragmented way. Old identities and common interests have become diffused.

Indeed, much of what is written these days about postmodernism and leisure carries a negative tone, as though leisure has lost something as a result of modernism. Leisure in modern societies appears to be more commercial, diverse, and sped up—to the detriment of community, family, and social group. As well, modern leisure is more of a competition to collect fun experiences and recreational equipment. Modern leisure is expected to be more concerned with individual self-fulfillment, self-reliance, and image. This, a postmodernist perspective maintains, renders modern leisure to be more cherished, as it has to compete with the busyness of work and responsibilities. For example, according to some scholars, our modern "day-to-day lives have been reduced to sedentary, boring routines, largely devoid of excitement, challenge, and personal growth" (Kernan & Domzal, 2000, p. 79).

Not everyone agrees that the condition of leisure in modern cultures is as described by postmodernism, however. Some continue to argue that leisure is largely unchanged by cultural progress. For example, Crouch and Tomlinson (1994) suggested leisure is still lived in communities and in family and social groups and not dependent on commodities and media. Similarly, Kelly (1999) contended most leisure still takes place in and around the home and serves to integrate communities and personal relationships (Figure 6.4).



Figure 6.4. One event that perhaps argues against postmodernity is the weekly "drumming the sun down" gathering that takes place on many beaches everywhere. This one is on Siesta Key Beach, Sarasota. © Patricia D. Setser, 2016.

What We Understand About the Cultural Meaning of Leisure

From the perspective of anthropology, leisure can be understood as a significant cultural phenomenon. That is, leisure helps shape a culture, and like a reflection in the mirror, leisure reflects the shape of a culture. After studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- As a cultural prodigy, leisure is characterized as shared, learned, based on symbols, integrated, and dynamic.
  Describe leisure in relation to each of these five characteristics.
- Leisure contributes to and is affected by the cultural change mechanisms of innovation, diffusion, loss, and acculturation.
  Give a leisure example of each of these four cultural change mechanisms.
- Acculturation is a complex cultural change concept, with the possible outcomes of assimilation, integration, rejection, or marginalization.
  Give an example of how leisure relates to each of these four acculturation outcomes.
- Material culture is the physical objects made and used by a culture; these objects can also interpret the role of leisure in a culture.
  Give an example of a leisure-based artifact and explain its significance for its culture.
- Leisure can contribute to cultural development.
  How? Give one example from your own community or campus.
- Leisure is subject to the processes of modernization. The result may be both good and bad.
  How? Give an example for both bad and good outcomes of modernization from your own community or campus.

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CHAPTER 7
Leisure's Geography

What is the geographical significance of leisure?

Leisure is expressed in both space and place, which are basic concepts of geography.

How is leisure expressed in space?

Leisure participation is distributed according to spatial pattern, density, and concentration.

How is leisure expressed in place?

People have a strong emotional attachment to specific leisure places.

What is the future of the geography of leisure?

Without wise management, many leisure expressions will be lost due to the demise of leisure space and place resources.



Marti Stanley always carries a collapsible chair in her car. When she is having a particularly bad day, she finds an out-of-the-way grassy spot, plops down the chair, breathes deeply, and soon is soothed by the nature around her. Research over the past decade indicates Marti has it right. Time spent in nature, or nature-based design at home, work, or the hospital, is helpful in reducing stress, elevating mood, producing faster healing, lowering blood pressure, and even improving memory (Harvard Medical School, 2018; Loria, 2018). And, according to one study, spending just 20 minutes in a park—even if you do not exercise while you are there—is enough to improve overall well-being (Yuen & Jenkins, 2019).

But this link is just part of the geography story. Indeed, all leisure expression is based in geography. For example, we know that for suburban Americans, the backyard is the most frequently used space and place for family pastimes. We also know that we feel differently when we are in a large crowd at a football game than when we are walking alone along a beach.

Geography is the scientific study of where things are located on the earth's surface and why (Rubenstein, 2003). Specifically, geographers investigate the way people respond to place and how space is shaped by human behavior (Smale, 1999). The famous German philosopher Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) compared the concern of geography for space and place with the concern of history for time. Whereas historians identify the dates of important events and explain why human activities follow one another across time, geographers identify the location of important places and explain why human activities are located beside one another in space. That is, geographers ask where and why (Rubenstein, 2003).

Geography: The study of earth and its life

We will turn to weather as an example. How does where we live affect our weather and in turn our leisure? Weather is the state of the atmosphere at a specific time and place. One thing that affects the weather is the geography of an area. This includes the topography of the land, the latitude, vegetation cover, human impact on the land, and the proximity of bodies of water to the area. All this, in turn, controls our recreation options.

So, if it is raining and therefore the courts are slippery, should we play tennis? If there is no snow, can we go cross-country skiing? If it is steamy hot, is it wise for us to go for a jog? While many societies have developed ways of getting around weather for the purposes of recreation (manufactured snow, indoor tennis pavilions, and synthetic cooling towels), weather still plays a significant role (Figure 7.1).



Figure 7.1. Weather affects our recreational options—both positively and negatively. For example, higher temperatures result in thinner air, which means less drag on athletes in sports where air resistance plays a major role. Velodrome designers capitalize on this, heating the stadium in the hope of making the cycling faster, or pumping cold air in to give rival teams a disadvantage (Pearce, 2012).

For example, the National Collegiate Athletic Association (2018) requires teams to build up the level of training in hot weather. Further, according to studies, the more natural sun-

light we experience, the more our brains produce the mood-enhancing chemical serotonin, which contributes to positive health (Aries, Aarts, & van Hoof, 2015). And the more natural sunlight that children are exposed to (meaning reduced passive screen-time playing indoors), the higher their rate of cognitive development (Laidley & Conley, 2018).

In this chapter, we explore ways to understand leisure as a geographical concept. These are organized according to the concepts of space and place. We conclude the chapter by reviewing a particularly timely geographic leisure concern: environmental impact.

Box 7.1
In Your Own Experience

Where Is Your Best Place?

There are several online quizzes to help you determine where you should live in order to thrive. Also, some sites help you select a vacation spot or a retirement location. Take a couple of these quizzes and then consider how much your leisure interests determined your choices. What other factors about geography did the quizzes use to determine your best spot? To begin, you could try these:

https://internationalliving.com/take-the-45-second-quiz-and-find-your-perfect-place-to-live-overseas/

https://www.bestplaces.net/fybp/

https://www.proprofs.com/quiz-school/story.php?title=what-us-city-should-you-live-in

https://www.quizony.com/which-us-state-should-you-live-in/13.html

Or search for quizzes that produce where you should be according to a specific interest.

Leisure as Space

From your experience with the quizzes in Box 7.1, where should you live? Did the results make a distinction for you in terms of locations in a city, suburbs, or countryside? You might be surprised, but a recent report suggests that people in the millennial generation prefer the suburbs (Berger, 2017). For example, according to recent statistics, 25- to 29-year-olds are about 25% more likely to move from the city to the suburbs and older millennials more than 50% more likely (reported in Casselman, 2015).

But, this demographic is demanding a different kind of suburb—one that has to do with leisure utilization of space. They want breathing room, but disdain the energy wastefulness, visual monotony, and social conformity of suburban neighborhoods from the 1950s. Those communities were built around cars. But now, suburbs that avoid the need for cars to access public areas are favored. Public access via walking and biking paths, drone ports for deliveries, and safe separation of pedestrians and moving vehicles are preferred over private driveways. In sustainable new suburbs, house and lot sizes are smaller, paving is reduced, and landscapes are more flexible. More forests, ponds, and wetlands. More commonly held recreation amenities that take up a lot more space. They want smaller personal space and larger public space.

In general, leisure already takes up quite a bit of space. For example, in the U.S., national park areas occupy over 84 million acres (National Park Service, 2019). To understand more about leisure as space, we will consider the basic principles of density, concentration, and pattern.

Box 7.2
By the Numbers

Countries With the Highest Percentage of Total Acreage for National Parks

Zambia	32%
Israel	30%
Costa Rica	25%
Nepal	23%
Venezuela	22%
Chile	20%

Source: "List of National Parks," n.d.

Density: The frequency with which something occurs in space

Concentration: The extent of a feature's spread over space

First, the frequency with which something occurs in space is its **density**. This frequency of something in space could be people, houses, cars, softball fields, wilderness areas, or almost anything. Density can be measured in square kilometers, square miles, hectares, acres, and other units of measurement.

Concentration is the extent of a feature's spread over space. If the objects in an area are close together, they are clustered, or if they are far apart, they are dispersed. It can be difficult to distinguish density and concentration, but they are not the same concepts. For example, in North America both the density and concentration of Major League Baseball teams changed in the second half of the 20th century. That is, between 1952 and 2000 the number of teams expanded from 16 to 30, thus increasing the density. Also, and at the same time, six of the 16 original 1952 teams by 2000 had moved from a concentration in the northeastern U.S. to the west coast, the southeast, and Canada, thus dispersing their concentration.



Figure 7.2. Aerial view of the campground at Kentucky Horse Park, near Lexington, KY. What would you say is the geographical pattern for camping at this state park? Source: Kentucky Horse Park Foundation.

The third property of leisure space is pattern. **Pattern** is the geometric arrangement of objects in space. That is, objects such as boat slips at a marina and campsites at a campground can be arranged linearly, in squares, in circles, and so on (Figure 7.2).

Pattern: Geometric arrangement of objects in space

There are many ways to demonstrate the concepts of density, concentration, and pattern of leisure in space. We will consider crowding and distance.

Crowding

All of us have probably noticed that leisure resources are becoming more crowded. Consider a U.S. national parks illustration: The number of visits in 1990 was approximately 258 million, compared to over 305 million in 2015 (National Park Service, 2016) and over 330 million in 2017 (National Park Service, 2018). As the National Park Service likes to point out, currently more people visit a national park than go to every single Disney park, NFL, NBA and MLB game, and NASCAR race combined (National Public Radio, 2016).

Fortunately, this means more people are enjoying these important leisure resources, but unfortunately, **crowding** also means they may be experiencing traffic congestion, jammed parking lots, cramped campgrounds, long lines for services, overworked rangers, more stringent rules, higher fees, conflict among visitors, and degraded facilities (Lime, 1996).

Crowding: A subjective and negative judgment about the number of objects (e.g., people) in a given space

Of course, determining what is crowded is a value judgment. That is, when the number of visitors to recreation areas (density) increases to a point where visitors and managers perceive interference of its use, the result is crowding. Whereas density is a neutral concept, crowding is a negative evaluation of density. For example, visitors to Great Smoky Mountains National Park in Tennessee and North Carolina are advised to visit during the low season (winter and spring) to avoid crowds. This advice presumes crowded mountains are undesirable. Likewise, shuttle buses are now used in crowded parks such as Zion National Park in Utah, but even with this, large lines of people have to wait for the shuttle to take them from the parking area to the visitors center. And some national parks are now considering initiating an advance reservation system for entering the park as a means of reducing crowding and the consequences of it to other people and the resource itself.

Researchers in outdoor recreation study how we determine crowding. For example, they have found perceptions of crowding can result from the personal characteristics of visitors, the characteristics of other visitors encountered, and the nature of the outdoor setting. We will discuss each of these determinants.

First, several studies have demonstrated that differences in visitor motivations affect perceptions of crowding. For example, a study of visitors to the Buffalo National River in Arkansas (Ditton, Fedler, & Graefe, 1983) found wide differences in perceived crowding among a sample of river floaters. Those visitors who felt crowded reported significantly higher ratings on the motivation "to get away from other people." Other visitors who did not feel crowded while floating down the river rated the motivation "to be part of a group" higher.

In terms of the characteristics of other visitors encountered, it seems only reasonable to think that tolerance for being with lots of other people in a leisure setting would depend on what these other people were like. For example, studies in the Boundary Waters Canoe Area in Minnesota found paddling canoeists sharply disliked encountering motorboats, were less resentful of encountering motorized canoes, and were relatively tolerant of at least some other paddled canoes (Manning, 1999).

The third factor determining perceptions of crowding is situation specific. From my own interests in camping, I know I have a sliding scale for feeling crowded depending on the type of campground. In a highly developed RV campground, I am much more tolerant of the presence of other people than I am in a primitive backcountry campground. Certain design aspects of a site, such as trees, rocks, or hedges between sites, can also affect a person's sense of campground crowding. As well, research has shown the level of disturbance of the leisure area determines the perception of crowding. That is, those trails, campsites, and rivers trashed from overuse are perceived as more crowded (Vaske, Graefe, & Dempster, 1982).

Distance

In addition to crowding, distance is a concept of geographic space applicable to leisure. Are we more likely to work out at the gym every day if it is across the street from our house, across town, or across the region? How fantastic does the gym need to be for us to be willing to travel across our region to use it? Distance influences our leisure behavior. For example, one report suggested we are only willing to travel 4 miles to a neighborhood park gym, but 8 miles to a more elite club gym (Bachman, 2017).

What is going on here? In general, local leisure resources will likely attract larger numbers of users who live nearby, but participation drops off by these same users as distance to a site increases. As well, participation in a specific leisure facility is a combination of the distance from the user's residence and the type of facility. That is, as a site's appeal becomes more specialized, smaller proportions of people are willing to travel farther distances. Geographers call this distance decay. The basic principle of **distance decay** is that different recreation sites have varying abilities to draw participants to them according to distance (Smale, 1999).

Distance decay: Interaction between two locales declines as the distance between them increases

Space–time compression: Processes that accelerate the experience of time and thus reduce the significance of distance

But, of course, it is not always so simple. Today, more rapid connections among places have reduced the distance between them, not literally, of course, but in the effort needed to get there. Geographers call this **space–time compression**. Thanks to advances in transportation and communication, distant places seem less remote and more accessible. Thus, distances to recreation sites might be perceived in terms of time or cost rather than by miles or kilometers.

The basic principle of space–time compression suggests that if the distance to a recreation site is perceived to be less (or greater) than its physical distance, the perception may have more influence on potential participation in the leisure pursuit than does the actual distance. Even though many recreation sites such as parks (see Table 7.1) are designed according to distance from expected users, the perception of distance controls leisure behavior.

Table 7.1
Types of Parks According to Distance From Expected Users

Park type	Definition	Scope of services	Example
Mini-park	Small, up to 1 acre	To be within a 10-minute walk	Park Ridge Park, Bloomington, Indiana
Neighborhood park	Serves up to 5,000 people in an immediate locale	To serve a single neighborhood	Huber Village Park, Westerville, Ohio
Community/ city park	Serves an entire town	To serve multiple neighborhoods	Balboa Park, San Diego, California
Regional park	Serves users from several communities and rural areas; often governed by coalitions of governments	To serve users from a wide area	Fort De Soto Park, Tampa Bay area, Florida
State/ provincial park	Serves an even broader jurisdiction, with historic or natural significance; governed by state or provincial governments	More remote from population centers	Amherst Shore Provincial Park, Nova Scotia
National park	An area of special scenic, historic, or scientific importance set aside and maintained by a national government	To protect an important resource and provide enjoyment for visitors	Iguazú National Park, Argentina
Linear park	Area designated for walking, biking, skiing, horseback riding, driving, etc.	To provide for travel-related, often self-propelled leisure	Cape Cod Rail Trail, Massachusetts

Leisure as Place

In addition to the importance of space, we have a strong sense of place in our leisure. Geographers (as well as anthropologists, sociologists, and urban planners) study why certain places hold special meaning to people. This "sense of place" is so deeply felt that magnificent examples include the World Heritage Site designations by the United Nations, Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty in the United Kingdom, and National Historic Landmark in America.

Is it the characteristics of a place that make it special to people—that foster a sense of authentic human attachment and belonging (Casey, 2001)? Yes. Visual, as well as cultural, social, and environmental, qualities make a place worth caring about. Yet places do not usually elicit the same feelings for everyone. Whereas some people think of bucolic settings as ideal, others see them as primitive and uncivilized. As well, some people see great beauty in skylines of great cities, while others consider them to be blights on the landscape.

According to eminent geographer Yi-Fu Tuan, both space and place are imbued with human emotions. To distinguish, he suggests while space represents freedom to us, place is our security; we long for the one and are attached to the other. To Tuan, our sense of place is not only for monuments, cultural buildings, or spectacular scenic areas but also for artifacts such as fireplaces and armchairs. For Tuan himself, the most significant place for his emotions is the desert. For example, upon awakening on a camping trip in Death Valley in California, he recalls, "I awoke to lunar beauty," to a "phantasmagoria of shimmering mauves, purples, and bright golds theatrically illuminated" (Tuan, 1977, p. 32).

Box 7.3 In Profile

Yi-Fu Tuan

Yi-Fu Tuan is a Chinese American geographer famous for pioneering the field of human geography and merging it with philosophy, art, theatre, anthropology, psychology, and religion. This formed what is known as humanist geography. Humanist geography has become the branch of geography that studies how humans inhabit and shape the earth not only with their bodies but also with their emotions, minds, and spirits. Tuan's many essays and books published over the past 45 years have been pivotal in moving geography into this new discipline that stresses the effects of people's perceptions, creativity, personal beliefs, and experiences on their attitudes toward their environments.

In addition to the visual qualities about a place, smell characterizes a sense of place. Scholars refer to this as **smellscape**, a concept in which, "like visual impressions, smells may be spatially ordered or place related" (Porteous, 1985, p. 359). Smells give character to places, making them distinctive and thus easier to identify and remember (Tuan, 1977). Think of the community gym you knew as a youth. Do you associate this memory with a smell? Is your memory positive?

Smellscape: Smells are place related and elicit emotional responses

There is perhaps no better illustration of smellscape than its calculated management at Disney's theme parks. For example, Epcot's simulated hang glider ride *Soarin'* takes you around the world, a journey that adds the smell of freshly cut roses as you soar over the Taj Mahal, a whiff of the ocean over Fiji, and the smell of grass as you follow the running elephants in Tanzania. In the Magic Kingdom, *Frontierland* smells like leather and gun smoke, and the attraction *Pirates of the Caribbean* smells of musty spices—all this is an effort to enhance visitors' experiences. The newly opened *Star Wars: Galaxy's Edge* (Star Wars themed) smells like charred meat—reminding you that you have not eaten lately. Indeed,

many promoters of tourism fill their marketing with the aromatic framing of places. This is tricky, of course, because just as beauty is in the eye of the beholder, so too are aromas in the individual nose.

In addition to sight and smell, our emotional attachment to specific places is based on a kinesthetic sense. For example, the vast number of mountain resorts is testimony to the fact that many of us feel emotionally elevated at moderately high altitudes. When you ask people who love the mountains to explain what is so special there, the reply is likely to be "just something in the air." This is perhaps why we associate certain spiritual practices, such as meditation, with high mountains.

But do we have to physically be in a place to have a visual, olfactory, or kinesthetic emotional attachment to it? Is there a virtual sense of place? **Virtual geography** has application in education, emergency management, agriculture, city planning, and tourism, but perhaps one useful leisure example is the virtual community of the *Second Life* (*SL*) game. According to Harrison (2009) "*SL* is an internet-based graphical interface, three-dimensional computer-mediated communication space, in which residents can buy and sell land to create virtual landscapes of recreation, communication, and commerce" (p. 82). *SL* was first launched in 2003 and by 2013 had 1 million regular users (Linden Lab, 2013). By 2017, however, the number of participants had declined to about 600,000 (Jamison, 2017).

Virtual geography: Web- and/or computer-based virtual versions of the real world that allow human–environment interactions

People participate in *SL* because it gives them the opportunity to get away from what is happening in their life as well as to try new things (Plunkett, 2011): "I am a lot more alive in SL than I ever have been in RL (real life)"; "I have fun because I get to do things I have never tried in RL, like skating and sailing"; and "if I could really look out the electronic window of my living room in Boston and see the Alps, hear the cowbells, and smell the (digital) manure in summer, in a way I am very much in Switzerland" (Negroponte, 1995, p. 165).

These motivations for a virtual geography remain. *SL's* dwindling participation is not because the experience has become less desired by people; rather, the technological platforms for experiencing it have diversified and expanded. While virtual reality, or VR, has been promised for decades, it is now affordably available to regular consumers via a range of devices. Now, we can slide down ice hills with Antarctic penguins, swim with sharks off Bora Bora in French Polynesia, or roam the streets of Rome any time we want and for just a few hundred dollars (Figure 7.3). We will discuss VR more thoroughly in the next chapter, but for now we will consider its authenticity for our sense of geographic place.



Figure 7.3. The Dolphin Swim Club uses virtual reality as therapy. This Dutch/Swedish initiative is used in over 150 hospitals and health care institutions worldwide. For example, in the Stanford Medical Center in the U.S., children undergoing heart surgery swim with dolphins before the procedure. And the wild dolphin VR swim has proved popular with patients suffering from chronic pain at Cedars-Sinai Medical Center in Los Angeles. See https://thedolphinswimclub.com/.

We will focus on tourism for this. A tourist is someone who has traveled to another place for an experience that is distinct from their everyday world. In a first-person tourism experience, the body is transported elsewhere, complete with all the physical sensations and inconveniences of the trip. So, in a VR tourist experience, what is the role of the body? While the state of current VR technology may not seem up to the task of physically

transporting the tourist's body, Turner, Turner, and Carroll (2006) argued that the role of the body in virtual environments can be offset by recognizing that a tourist's corporeality may be less important than their visual sense. Similarly, evidence suggests that VR can create absorption, or a sense of "presence" or "being there." For example, after a tourism VR experience to the Great Barrier Reef, participants in one study reported experiencing a sense of relaxation, similar to that gained from travel there in real life (Moyle, Moyle, Bec, & Scott, 2017).

In both first-person and virtual geography, all this has to do with the concept of place attachment. **Place attachment** suggests that people emotionally bond with specific places—they have a sense of place, rootedness, or "insidedness" (Kyle, Mowen, & Tarrant, 2004). That is, we have feelings for places. Graceland in Memphis, Yankee Stadium in New York City, Vieux-Quebec in Quebec City, and Horseshoe Falls at Niagara are all places to which many people attach strong personal meaning.

Place attachment: Emotional bond between a person and a place

In the study of the role of place in leisure, two primary concepts that reflect place attachment are place identity and place dependence. Place identity focuses on the emotional and symbolic meanings recreationists ascribe to recreation settings, and place dependence relates to the functional utility attributed to the setting for enabling leisure experiences (Williams, Patterson, Roggenbuck, & Watson, 1992; Kyle & Chick, 2007). We will explore these concepts.

Place Identity

What motivates us to have an emotional attachment to a place? One possible explanation is that the place provides an identity for us. **Place identity** claims we have a sense of who we are according to a particular place. As we explored in other chapters, leisure provides opportunities for people to create and develop personal and group identities. And leisure places have meaning to us because of who they affirm us to be: "I'm a mountain person" or "only a Winnebago for me."

Place identity: A place provides the source of self-identification for a person

Box 7.4 The Study Says

Time and Place Attachment

One interesting thread woven throughout many writings about place attachment is the importance of time spent at a place. In this study of visitors to the Grand Teton National Park (GTNP), three research questions were answered:

1. Is a person's length of association with a place related to the meanings of that place?
   - People who reported more visits to GTNP and had more years of association with the park were more likely to report a special place there than those with shorter lengths of association.
2. Do people who have a shorter length of association with a place more often refer to either physical setting or activity meanings than people with a longer length of association?
   - People with longer lengths of association more frequently reported social and emotional connections to their special places; yet people with both long and short lengths of association report attachments via the park's scenic beauty and recreation opportunities.
3. Do place meanings change over time, and if so, how?
   - Place dependence tends to develop quickly, while place identity develops over a longer period of time.

Smaldone, D., Harris, C., Sanyal, N. (2008). The role of time in developing place meanings. *Journal of Leisure Research, 40*(4), 479-504.

Indeed, some leisure scholars have argued that because of the process of modernization in society, leisure places have become an increasingly more important source of identity. As Godbey (2007) declared, while we have become nomads, we still need a sense of self associated with a place. Leisure places often provide for this. Perhaps this explains the allure of leisure-based villages for retirees or why the neighborhood sports bar is "home" for many.

Oldenburg (1999) called these the "great good places." Accordingly, these places represent "third places," a term he uses to describe the many public places that host "regular, voluntary, informal, and happily anticipated gatherings of individuals" (p. 16) beyond the home (the first place) and work and school (second places). Third places may take many forms, including cafés, coffee shops, bookstores, fitness clubs, bars, beauty shops, community centers, and street-corner hangouts. Oldenburg saw them as providing identity. That is, the third place provides an accessible, socially neutral ground that encourages a playful mood for regulars to engage in their main activity: conversation (Wenner, 1998). Further, since an increasing percentage of workers today now telecommute, even more identity importance has developed for third places. That is, many telecommuters find working in public spaces (with Wi-Fi), such as a coffee shop, to be a better experience than working in first or second places.

Extending this, Morisson (2018) argued that places of identity in the knowledge economy are evolving, which has created a fourth place. The digital world of the fourth place combines elements of the first, second, and third places, making it a new place in and of itself. In the fourth place, the "frontier between social and private dynamics, work and leisure, networking and social interactions, and collaboration and competition are blurry, making it the place for the knowledge economy" (p. 6). The fourth place is a virtual social space of like-minded people—another example of virtual geography, as well.

Place Dependence

Another concept expressing our emotional attachment to leisure places is place dependence. **Place dependence** relies on two factors: (1) the quality of the place to meet a need or function and (2) the relative quality of other places comparable to the current place. Thus, place dependence has been determined to be a more functional aspect of place attachment (Smaldone, Harris, & Sanyal, 2008).

Place dependence: A person's functional association with a place

For example, Bricker and Kerstetter (2000) studied how place dependence varied with levels of specialization among whitewater boaters. They found more specialized whitewater boaters had a stronger dependence on a higher rated whitewater river. Another study also by Bricker and Kerstetter (2002) concluded that whitewater river place meanings included the functions of repose, peace, beauty, wildness, an appreciation of nature, reverence, and a need to protect the river.

Of course, there are differences in the functional meaning of a place, and ethnicity is one source. That is, White Americans attach the highest priority to an individually expressive meaning of a place, followed by an instrumental goal-directed meaning and then a cultural symbolic meaning. For many Native Americans, on the other hand, the priority given to the meaning of a place is just the opposite, with a cultural symbolic meaning first and an individually expressive meaning last (McAvoy, 2002).

Differences such as these help explain why there are conflicts over leisure places. Different users of a recreation resource hold different reasons for loving it. This helps us to understand, for example, why cross-country skiers and snowmobilers are often at odds when trying to share the same trails. This realization is useful to natural resource managers, who can help competing users of a resource negotiate and appreciate others' dependence on a place.

Box 7.5
Web Explore

A Park Under NYC

Dan Barasch is a pioneer in the field of "Urban Futurism." His new book Ruin and Redemption in Architecture (2019) explores the potential of reimagined and forgotten urban places. In New York City the problem was the lack of space within the city to develop a park that serves as a community hub. Barasch's crazy plan is to create a park, filled with greenery, underneath the city. He and other stakeholders are developing the "Lowline," an underground greenspace the size of a football field. They're building it in a trolley terminal abandoned in 1948, using technology that harvests sunlight above-ground and directs it down below. Check it out by watching the TED talk:

http://www.ted.com/talks/dan_barasch_a_park_underneath_the_hustle_and_bustle_of_new_york_city?language=en.

Environmental Impact

Growth in all forms of leisure participation has fueled global concern for a special case of the geography of leisure—pressure on the health and survival of the environment. With this statement, we usher in a brief caveat about aesthetics. **Aesthetics** is a branch of philosophy that focuses on the appreciation of beauty. Often used to describe artistic taste, as applied to the natural world aesthetics over the centuries has involved principles for describing and valuing a landscape, for example, because it is beautiful, picturesque, and even sublime. Aesthetics involves sentimental valuing.

Aesthetics: Relating to the beautiful

Aesthetics is the basis for considering the environmental impact of leisure, because aesthetic experience is among the most common starting points for an environmental ethic (Rolston, 2002). Ask people, why protect the Grand Canyon, and the ready answer will be, "Because I was in awe of its beautiful grandeur when I visited it last year." Logically, then, we should not destroy beauty. Indeed, we do not want to destroy beauty. Perhaps, such destruction is simply admiring and joyful caring too much. How does this happen? In this final section of the chapter, we answer this via tourism and outdoor recreation.

Tourism Effects

Perhaps one of the most perilous of environmental impacts is from tourism (Figure 7.4). These have been produced from expected sources. For example, negative impacts from tourism basically occur when the level of visitor use is greater than the ability of the environment to cope with this use. When this happens, the pressure on an area can lead to soil erosion, increased pollution, toxic discharges into the water, natural habitat loss, increased pressure on endangered species, and heightened vulnerability to forest fires. According to the United Nations Environment



Figure 7.4. Tourism both creates and is harmed by environmental degradation. Gigantic hands rise from the water to support the Ca' Sagredo Hotel, a statement of the impact of climate change and rising sea levels. Venice, Italy, 2017.

Programme (n.d.), the three main categories of impact are (1) depletion of natural resources, (2) waste, and (3) physical impacts (Table 7.2).

As well as these expected sources, there are unexpected sources for the role of tourism in environmental destruction. For example, in New Zealand, hundreds of jet boats ripping down rivers, rented camper vans leaving trails of waste, and thousands of helicopter trips depositing visitors (some in flip-flops) on fragile glaciers are the direct result of the hit movie series *The Lord of the Rings*, which is set in an area near Queenstown (Pannett, 2018). Accompanying this has been a wave of anti-tourism demonstrations. One area town is considering shutting down Wi-Fi at night to deter campers, and another is considering whether to restrict Airbnb rentals. Elsewhere, anti-tourism demonstrations in popular destinations, such as Barcelona, Spain, have included slashing rental-bicycle tires and banning tour groups from parts of the city.

Table 7.2
Examples of Negative Environmental Impact From Tourism

Impact area	Types of impact	Illustration
Depletion of Natural Resources	Water resources	An average golf course in a tropical country (e.g., Thailand) uses as much water as 60,000 villagers.
	Land degradation	One trekking tourist in Nepal can use 4–5 kilograms of wood a day.
	Air pollution	A single transatlantic return flight emits almost half the CO_2 emissions produced by all other sources (lighting, heating, car use, etc.) consumed by an average person yearly.
Waste	Water pollution	Wastewater from tourism sites has damaged flora and fauna, stimulating the growth of algae, and changing the salinity in coastal environments.
	Littering	Some trails in the Peruvian Andes have been nicknamed "toilet paper trail."
	Solid waste	Cruise ships in the Caribbean are estimated to produce more than 70,000 tons of waste each year.
Physical Impacts	Trampling on vegetation	Breakage and bruising stems, reduced plant vigor, loss of ground cover.
	Trampling on soil	Reduction in soil macro porosity, increase in runoff, decrease in air and water permeability.
	On marine areas	Anchoring, snorkeling, sport fishing, scuba diving, and cruising cause direct degradation of coral reefs, fish stock, and nesting spots.

Source: United Nations Environment Programme (n.d.).

Outdoor Recreation Effects

As well, outdoor recreation tends to use more fragile natural resources, thus creating environmental havoc. For example, snow-grooming machines and artificial snow-making cause irreparable damage to soil and vegetation at ski areas. Also, the chlorofluorocarbons (CFCs) often found in the refrigeration

systems in indoor skating rinks, the chemicals needed to purify the water in swimming pools, and the emissions and spills from powered toys such as snowmobiles and jet skis also represent environmental health threats. Even the impact of human-produced noise on park wildlife ranging from birds to elk has been a growing focus of scientific study, which has suggested that animals modify their behavior as if they were suddenly being threatened by predators (Whittaker, 2011).

Take, for instance, finding that perfect camping spot near the river for you and a couple of your friends (Figure 7.5). A single impromptu campsite can eventually merge into many sites that lead to erosion, ruining vegetation, and large swaths of bare soil that increase pollutants in waterways, trigger algae blooms, and even affect trout reproduction (Langston, 2018). A thriving meadow can transform into a compacted, exposed patch of dirt in as little as 10 nights with a tent on top of it.



Figure 7.5. Getting out in nature is good for us, improving our physical, mental, and emotional health for starters. But is it good for the health of the environment? Increased participation in outdoor recreation over the past several years is not only compromising the overall experience of getting out in nature but also destroying our favorite places.

Solutions

The Faeroe Islands, an 18-island archipelago midway between Iceland and Scotland, closed for tourists for a weekend in April 2018—unless they wanted to help locals pick up trash and otherwise work to keep the rocky isles clean and unspoiled. Canoeists and kayakers who want to overnight camp in the Okefenokee Swamp in Georgia must secure a permit far in advance. And a new bona fide movement—Zero Wasters—tries to reduce annual trash produced from home, as well as from travel and recreation, to fit in a Mason jar. Indeed, take heart, there are many solutions for reversing negative environmental impacts from leisure.

At the root of these solutions are the concepts of conservation and preservation. **Conservation** involves the scientific and rational planning of natural resources for their best use. Conservation implies the renewal of resources as they become damaged. In contrast, the **preservation** of natural resources means they are protected from human influence. Preservation applies mainly to nonrenewable resources. For example, whereas conservation refers to managing deer populations through hunting, preservation keeps recreationists out of bald eagle habitat completely.

We will illustrate with the problem of climate and its conservation and preservation solutions. Climate refers to the average conditions of temperature, barometric pressure, wind, and precipitation in a locale over a long period. It is different from weather (considered at the beginning of the chapter), which refers to current conditions. Climate is primarily determined by latitude and altitude, which divide the earth into five basic climatic zones: tropical, dry, temperate, cold, and polar (Köppen climate classification), and expressions of leisure are determined accordingly. For example, climate determines not only pastimes we choose in different seasons of the year but also where we choose to travel for vacations.

Conservation: Efficient use of natural resources over the long term

Preservation: Protection of natural resources from human damage

Therefore, of concern is climate change. The relationship between climate change and leisure can perhaps best be presented again in terms of tourism. In fact, climate is a principal resource for tourism, as it determines the suitability of locations for a wide range of tourist activities. To consider the impact of climate change on the pattern of tourism worldwide and how tourist behavior might change as a result of changing climate, we first need to summarize global tourism patterns.

Tourist flows are unevenly distributed between the various regions of the world (World Tourism Organization, 2003). Among the world's 1.2 billion international tourist arrivals (Roser, n.d.), the concentration is heavily focused on three regions—Europe, Asia and the Pacific, and the Americas. As the climates of these regions change, partly due to the effect of mass tourism, the nature of tourism to these regions will also change. Table 7.3 provides a summary of climate changes and their probable impact on major international travel flows to three of these regions (World Tourism Organization, 2003).

Table 7.3
Climate Changes and Impact on International Tourism

Region	Change in climate	Implications for tourism
North America	• Increase in winter and summer temperatures • Slight increase in annual rainfall • Beach erosion and greater storm risk in Florida • Greater storm risk and higher rainfall in Pacific coast • Coastal erosion and storm damage risk on east coast • More tropical diseases	• Florida may become less attractive at peak times • Northeast U.S. and Canadian cities too hot in summer • Increased popularity of Pacific Northwest • Stronger winter ski market due to reduced capacity in Europe • Increased demand on artificial snowmaking
Northern Europe	• Increase in winter and summer temperatures • Increase in amount and intensity of winter rainfall • Decrease in summer rainfall • Beach degradation as sea level rises • More tropical diseases • More flash floods	• Increasing leisure travel market • More domestic holidays trips • Decreased incentive for northern European travel to southern Europe
Southern Europe	• Warmer, wetter winters • Much warmer, drier summers • Increased heat index • More arid landscape • Greater sea level rise	• Reduced peak summer visits • More beach degradation • Increased incentive for southern European travel to northern Europe

Thus, global climate changes are predicted to cause a shift of attractive climatic conditions for tourism toward higher latitudes and altitudes. As a result, the competitive position of some popular vacation areas is anticipated to decline (e.g., the Mediterranean in summer), whereas other areas (e.g., southern England) are expected to improve (World Tourism Organization, 2008).

How might the challenges for global tourism brought on by climate change be met? We will consider ideas for conservation and preservation. For example, conservation management strategies such as dispersed use and carrying capacity may be helpful. The idea of dispersed use encourages spreading out the use of an area over a wider swath. For example, increasing the amount of parking at lesser used public beaches could disperse beach use. Determining carrying capacity has also been helpful. Standards are determined for the saturation point for the impact of people and participation is limited to this. An example is limiting the Great Pyramid in Egypt to 300 visitors per day.

In terms of preservation, one illustration is the establishment of wilderness designated areas. A wilderness designation can apply to desert, forest, water, and coastal resources. The point is that minimal human intervention is allowed, including motorized equipment, signage, built recreation facilities, and commercial use. Also, some tourists are deciding that "saving the world is more important than seeing the world" and are increasingly having stay-at-home vacations (Karp, 2008, p. W3).

One of the best illustrations of the usefulness of such conservation and preservation initiatives to tourism is **sustainable tourism**. "Sustainable tourism takes full account of its current and future economic, social and environmental impacts, addressing the needs of visitors, the industry, the environment and host communities" (United Nations Environment Programme & World Tourism Organization, 2005, p. 12). The goal is to reduce the negative impact of tourism on local communities, as well as on the environment, by balancing the needs of tourists with those of the destination.

Sustainable tourism: a balance of economic, social, and environmental principles that guarantee long-term sustainability for the tourist site

In other words, sustainable tourism is trying to make a positive impact on the environment, society, and economy, including through conserving and preserving transportation systems, accommodations, tours, entertainment, recreation, hospitality services, and shopping. It implies not consuming natural or cultural resources at a higher rate than they can be protected or replaced.

Box 7.6 What Do You Say?

Sustainable Cruise Tourism

Cruise tourism keeps breaking records. Over the past five years cruising increased 20.5%, with over 27.2 million ocean cruise passengers setting sail in 2018 in mostly the Caribbean and Mediterranean (50%). Cruise tourism produces a $126 billion annual total economic impact with 1 million jobs paying $41 billion in wages and salaries (Florida-Caribbean Cruise Association, 2018).

On the other hand, cruise tourism is frequently criticized for polluting the seas as well as the cultures visited. Indeed, sustainability at sea has become of increased concern for the industry because more and more passengers demand better conserving and preserving practices. An example of the efforts so far is in the case of Royal Caribbean's Quantum class ships.

A well-designed ship can dramatically reduce environmental impacts and this class of ship utilizes a specialized hull design that captures micro-bubbles, which reduces drag, improving fuel efficiency by 10 %. Two years ago, Royal Caribbean entered into a partnership with the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), which focuses on reducing greenhouse gas emissions (35% by 2020). These efforts have included emission purification systems. As well, there is a commitment to local sourcing 90% of the food that passengers and crew eat. And, by 2020, 1,000 of its shore excursions will be supplied by operators certified as sustainable.

1. Do you believe Royal Caribbean is doing enough for sustainable tourism? Why or why not? What else do you suggest should be done?
2. Check out other cruise lines to determine their sustainability goals and efforts. Do larger ships have more difficulties than smaller ships in achieving these goals?
3. What are the cruise lines doing to minimize negative impact on the cultures visited?
4. Royal Caribbean and others (e.g., Holland America Line) have onboard programs that emphasize conservation as well as civic good works. What are some examples of these?

See http://sustainability.rclcorporate.com/

Another illustration of conservation and preservation solutions for tourism is ecotourism. Whereas sustainable tourism focuses on tourism management by providers, ecotourism promotes responsible travel by the tourists (Figure 7.6). **Ecotourism** is a form of tourism involving visiting fragile, pristine, and relatively undisturbed natural areas, intended as a low-impact and small-scale alternative to mass tourism. Its purpose includes educating the tourist, providing funds for ecological conservation, and benefiting the economic development of local cultures. The rise in interest in volunteer tourism, where tourists spend some portion of their vacation working on conservation or preservation projects, reflects an ecotourism approach.

Ecotourism: Tourism in threatened, natural environments that directly supports conservation efforts



Figure 7.6. Backroads is an adventure travel company offering luxury accommodations, fine dining, and special attention to ecotourism. Small groups travel to their destinations via their own efforts—walking, biking, or kayaking. They abide by a "leave no trace" philosophy and directly support wildlife and natural resources of the areas visited. Source: Backroads.com.

What We Understand About the Geographical Significance of Leisure

From the perspective of geography, leisure can be understood as having meaning in space and place. As a result of reading this chapter, you should know the following:

- The distribution of leisure in space differs according to density, concentration, and pattern.
  Distinguish each of these three concepts of geographical space and give a leisure example.
- Distance is a concentration and pattern phenomenon that affects participation rates for different types of leisure sites.
  Define distance and give an illustration in leisure.
- Crowding is also a phenomenon of leisure as space.
  Define crowding and give an illustration in leisure.

- Attaching strong sentiment to leisure places comes from our visual, olfactory, kinesthetic, and virtual senses.
  Select a leisure place for which you have a strong sentiment and describe it in terms of your visual, olfactory, kinesthetic and/or virtual attachment.
- Strong leisure place attachments contribute to our self-identity and dependency.
  Define place attachment, incorporating self-identity and dependency into its description.
- Considerable attention must be applied to the conservation and preservation of leisure resources if opportunities are to remain viable.
  Select one of the environmental concerns discussed in the chapter and describe it. How can leisure both harm and help this concern?

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CHAPTER 8
Popular Culture

What is popular culture?

Popular culture refers to the everyday pastimes of the majority of people in a society. It is leisure for the masses.

What are examples of popular culture?

In contemporary societies popular culture examples are typically media-based forms of entertainment, including television, spectator sports, popular music, films, and amusement parks.

Why is understanding popular culture important?

Mediated entertainment as a form of leisure is perhaps the most obvious reflection of the character of a society.



What did you do yesterday? Did you listen to music? Did you binge watch a show on Netflix, go to a movie, check your Facebook page, create a Snapchat story, meet up with friends at Starbucks, play *Fortnite*, check your fantasy sports scores, complete a CrossFit workout, or wear an edgy retro tee shirt? You most likely did at least one of these activities, perhaps all of them. In fact, you probably do at least one of these activities every day. If so, you are not unusual. These are examples of popular culture (Figure 8.1).



Figure 8.1. "Today, if Facebook was a nation, it would be the most populous country on earth" (Crothers, 2017, p. 168).

Popular culture encompasses the most immediate, pervasive, and contemporary leisure expressions in our lives. It offers a common ground for a visible level of culture in a society. It is the "culture of the people" (Delaney, 2015b, p. 1). Not so much defined by its content, or the product, but rather by what people typically do with it, it could be music, literature, drama, food, fashion, slang, media, or sport spectating. Other terms for popular culture include *common culture*, *pop culture*, *mass culture*, and *mass leisure*—the things most people do with most of their free time.

We will begin this chapter by clarifying why it is important to study popular culture. Then, we will discuss the characteristics of popular culture, along with specific examples. Finally, we will debate the role of the core of popular culture—mediated entertainment.

The Importance of Popular Culture

Popular culture: Heavily influenced by mass media, the collection of ideas, images, and other phenomena that permeate the everyday lives of members of a society

Why focus on popular culture? What can we learn by studying the motivations of flash mobs, meme making, and viral videos? Why analyze images of Beyoncé or Meghan Markle or plots in *The Simpsons* or *Fantastic Beasts and Where to Find Them*? Understanding these forms of popular culture is important because they reflect the commonly held standards and beliefs of a society about beauty, success, love, equality, and justice. That which is forefront, daily, and broadly experienced reveals much about a culture. For example, we can see important social contradictions—the tension between races, genders, and generations—reflected in popular culture. As Lipsitz (1990) suggested, "perhaps the most important facts about people have always been encoded within the ordinary and commonplace" (p. 5).

Another argument for studying popular culture is to become aware of the important influence it exerts on us (Petracca & Sorapure, 2004). Today, for many societies, media drives popular culture. Media contains the primary fund of ideas that inform our daily lives, sometimes exerting a more compelling influence than family, friends, school, or job. When we play sports, for example, we mimic the gestures and movements of the professional athletes we see on television. We learn to dance from music videos. Popular culture delivers messages that we internalize and act on later. This means we should examine it to assess, and perhaps also resist, its influences.

Box 8.1
Web Explore

Popular Culture and Politics

Might the political consciousness of today's generation be taking shape in and around popular culture? What similarities are there between our popular culture and political preferences? How are political leaders utilizing metaphors from popular culture? To explore some possible connections between politics and popular culture, begin by checking out these websites:

https://www.marketwatch.com/story/political-lobbyists-are-the-new-hot-thing-in-pop-culture-2018-03-26

https://www.thoughtco.com/list-of-presidential-campaign-songs-3367523

https://www.washingtonpost.com/outlook/yes-politicians-wore-blackface-it-used-to-be-all-american-fun/2019/02/08/821b268c-2b0d-11e9-b011-d8500644dc98_story.html?utm_term=.8ec67009316e

https://www.kpbs.org/news/2018/aug/02/nprs-sam-sanders-discusses-intersection-politics-a/

Debate your conclusions with classmates.

Characterizing Popular Culture

How do we know what pastimes to put on the popular culture list? Why is eating at McDonald's on the list and dining at Commander's Palace not? Why is NFL football on the list and Pop Warner football not? In characterizing popular culture, we refer to it as popular, inclusionary, commercial, trendy, and specific to age groups. We will discuss each of these characteristics of popular culture.

Beginning with popularity, we see these everyday forms of leisure as what most of us engage in most often. It is the way the masses primarily use free time. Television watching is popular culture, for example, because it is a fundamental leisure expression of an entire society. Also, the game *Fortnite* has been billed as the most popular recreation activity of 2018, with over 200 million users. It sparked debates over parent–child relationships, inspired athlete celebrations, elevated gamers to stardom, and made gobs of money (Park, 2018).

To further make the distinction about popularity, we can compare popular culture with folk culture and high culture. **High culture** refers to the typical pastimes of a society's elite, such as intellectuals or the upper socioeconomic classes of people. High culture is not mass produced nor meant for mass consumption. Examples of high culture might include listening to classical music by composers such as Beethoven, viewing art in a museum by impressionist painter Manet, attending a performance of a play by Shakespeare, and reading the literature of Sartre. In some societies, high culture can also be popular. For example, classical ballet is one of Russia's more popular pastimes.

High culture: Typical pastimes of the social elite of a society

Folk culture, on the other hand, refers to local pastimes shared through direct, oral communication by a specific community or ethnic group. Folk culture is typically noncommercial, reflecting a simple and often rural lifestyle. Examples of American folk culture include quilting, Creole cuisine, bluegrass music (Figure 8.2), clogging, the Hawaiian hula, and the cakewalk. Sometimes, folk culture is appropriated and marketed and becomes popular culture. When this happens, the folk items gradually lose their original form and meaning. Wearing blue jeans is certainly an illustration of this.

Folk culture: Local or regional traditional pastimes

A second characteristic of popular culture is that it is inclusionary—it allows large heterogeneous masses of people to identify collectively. Through shared popular culture individuals can be connected to their larger culture (Delaney, 2015a). Thus, it serves the role of uniting the ideals of acceptable forms of activity. Consuming popular culture enhances our prestige in our peer group. Imagine if you had never heard of Beyoncé! Popular culture appeals to us because it provides opportunities for communal bonding.

As you have already guessed, another characteristic of popular culture is that it is commercial. It is leisure that is marketed and sold as a product. For example, in the U.S. in 2018, $72.13 billion was spent on pets (American Pet Products Association, n.d.), $299.6 billion on fast food (Statistica, 2019), and $19 billion on amusement and theme park admissions (IBISWorld, 2018). And in 2018 Katy Perry was the top-grossing female musician, earning $83 million that year (Greenburg, 2018). Yes, popular culture is for sale.



Figure 8.2. Bluegrass is a form of American roots music and a related genre of country music. Influenced by the music of Appalachia, it has mixed origins in Irish, Scottish, Welsh, and English traditional music and was also later influenced by the music of African Americans through incorporation of jazz elements. The Rattlesnakes Bluegrass Band.

But you are probably wondering who the top-grossing female musician is in the year you are reading this. Is it still Katy Perry or someone else? Most likely you are going to guess it is someone else, because this too is a characteristic of popular culture. It is trendy. It does not last long. Although some categories of popular culture such as television, film, popular music, and spectator sport are generally enduring, others such as individual shows, titles, musicians, and athletes are not. In 2019, Ariana Grande took the place of Katy Perry, who before that took the place of Lady Gaga, who took the place of Beyoncé, who took the place of Britney Spears, who supposedly took the place of Madonna, who took the place of Gidget, and so on. Popular culture responds to what is contemporary in people's lives. This means once popular things are inevitably not popular later.



Figure 8.3. Popular culture typifies the interests of the youth of an era. What generation does this statue in Key West, Florida, represent? © Patricia D. Setser.

This also leads us to the final characteristic of popular culture: It is specific to age groups. For example, we will consider the cinema. A couple of years ago two popular movies were *The King's Speech* and *True Grit*. What sort of audience powered their popularity? It was baby boomer audiences who were 50 years of age and older. Thus, popular culture is typically specific to age groups. However, what becomes popular culture that is common among all age groups at a particular time

usually depends on the tastes of youth (Figure 8.3). That is, the best-selling music, movies, foods, and so on of a culture are largely determined by youth culture. This means young people can be a powerful force in effecting change in society.

Table 8.1 summarizes popular culture examples according to generations.

Table 8.1
Generations and Popular Culture in American Cultures

Generation	Year of birth (approx.)	Notable events	Popular culture examples of that time
Greatest	1910–1927	WWII, stock market collapse, Great Depression	Big band music, baseball and Babe Ruth, films by Clark Gable and Ginger Rogers, radio entertainment
Silent	1928–1945	WWII, Korean War, Early civil rights movement, "Ikers"	Birth of rock 'n' roll, jazz and swing music, Film *Gone With the Wind*
Baby Boomers	1946–1964	Vietnam War, environmental movement, counterculture, space exploration, civil rights and women's movements, assassination of JFK	Rock 'n' roll, the Beatles, Elvis, Woodstock, cannabis and LSD, sexual revolution, widespread television
Generation X (or Baby Busters)	1965–1980	Cold War, fall of Berlin Wall	MTV, home computer, video games, hip-hop, grunge music, cable television, rise of mass media
Millennials (or Generation Y or Echo Boomers)	1981–1994	Technology revolution, War on Terror, Iraq War, 9/11 attack, gay rights, Great Recession, cell phones	Transformers, Tickle Me Elmo, Spice Girls, Eminem, reality television
Generation Z (or Net or New Silent)	1995–2015	The Internet, dot-com bubble, digital globalization	Starbucks, Harry Potter, Beyoncé and Lady Gaga, YouTube, mobile Internet entertainment, American Idol–style television

Examples

Many examples of popular culture are worthy of highlighting. Beginning with spectator sport, we will also mention popular music and movies. Then we will pay particular attention to television—undoubtedly the standard-bearer of popular culture.

In many societies, it is no secret, spectator sports are more important than ever to both individuals and communities. A spectator sport is a sport that people find entertaining to watch. Any sport can potentially be fun to watch, but some are more popular than others and thus an example of popular culture. To illustrate this distinction, we can look at swimming as a popular form of recreation participation but not a popular spectator sport. The most popular spectator sport is association football (soccer), with 4 billion fans worldwide. NFL football in the U.S. and ice hockey in Canada are the most popular spectator sports in these cultures. An up-and-coming spectator sport is watching other people play video games online. On average, gamers (ages 18–25) worldwide spend an average of 3 hours and

25 minutes each week watching video games, nearly an hour more than they spend watching traditional sports (Heitner, 2018).

It is perhaps in the commercial characteristic of spectator sport that we find our best illustration of popular culture. For example, increases in broadcast revenue over the past decades have provided the Olympic movement with a sizable financial base. By the London summer games in 2012, the International Olympic Committee was worth $47.5 billion, second only to Apple at $70.6 billion and just ahead of Google at $47.4 billion (Morley, 2012). Ironically, the sports of the Olympics are not examples of popular culture in all countries. For example, the individual Olympic events are niche spectator sports in the U.S. but represent the most popular spectator sports in other parts of the world. This demonstrates the inclusionary characteristic of popular culture, as well.

Box 8.2 By the Numbers

Olympics and Money

- In the 1936 Summer Olympics, the German government paid about U.S. $25 million, raised through taxes, to stage the games in Berlin. In 1972, when the Olympics were held in Munich, it cost 70 times that amount.
- The most expensive games in history were the 2014 Winter Olympics in Sochi, Russia, at over U.S. $50 billion.
- The Albertville, France, 1992 Winter Olympic Games went over budget by 135%, which was a deficit of U.S. $57 million. The government picked up much of the tab.
- Estimates put the television network NBC's total Olympic profit at about $1 billion, after NBC spent about $775 million to pay for rights and another $100 million to produce.
- Approximately 47% of Olympic marketing revenue comes from broadcast, 45% from sponsorship, 5% from ticketing, and 3% from licensing.
- The International Olympic Committee does not pay athletes to compete in the games. However, some non-IOC groups give out money. For example, the U.S. Olympic Committee offers bonuses: $25,000 for gold medals; $15,000 for silver; and $10,000 for bronze.
- Every potential 2022 Olympic host city with democratically elected governments pulled out of the bidding, citing cost concerns. The only two cities left in the bidding are Beijing, China, and Almaty, Kazakhstan.

Source: Drew, 2018

Next, we will consider the example of popular music, which throughout history has been a tremendously important barometer of the character of a culture. Throughout the 20th century in the U.S., for example, every decade had a melody or rhythm that characterized it.

The century started off blue: Robert Johnson selling his soul to the devil at the crossroads. Then the Jazz Age: Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington. By mid-century things started to rock. In the beginning, a confused hodgepodge of Buddy Holly's hillbilly style, Little Richard's frenzy, and Elvis Presley's blend of country and African American rhythms. Later, boy and girl groups, such as The Coasters and The Shirelles, relayed the trials and joys of young love. By the mid-1960s, Bob Dylan and Joan Baez combined folk lyrics with the beat and instrumentation of rock to produce folk music, while Led Zeppelin and Frank Zappa pinned their anti-establishment tone to hard rock. Then on to the Beatles invasion, Aretha Franklin, Bob Marley, and Stevie Wonder. (Are you singing along?) While Disco and House/Dance music have their origins in the 1970s, eventually the memorable sounds of R.E.M., U2, and Prince drowned them out in the 1980s. So powerful have been all these musical legacies, they can still be heard on the radio today, even as they portray the decade of their popularity.

But how will we remember the end of that century and the beginning of this one? Added to blues, jazz, country, rock, folk, and disco music is **hip-hop**. Hip-hop music is part of a subculture of four elements—graffiti, DJing and Turntablism, b-boy and b-girl breaking, and MCing (each include creations of songs, slang, clothing, films, and other expressions of the art form)—that began in the Bronx in New York City in the early 1970s. Founded by young African Americans and Latinos who sought a peace from gang violence and used parties as a means to achieve it, the music quickly gained popularity and widespread acceptance. The current smash-hit show *Hamilton: An American Musical* has brought hip-hop into the consciousness of the mainstream music audience (and even high culture). Incorporating not only hip-hop but also R&B, pop, soul, and traditional-style show tunes, the show has been referred to as a "cultural revolution" by some critics (Miranda & McCarter, 2016).

Hip-hop: In this case, specifically a type of music typically consisting of a rhythmic style of speaking called rap or MCing often over backing beats performed on two turntables by a DJ

Further, as the first decade of the new 21st century progressed, hip-hop transformed from an edgy rhythmic rap to a more melodic sound that contains elements of jazz, classical, pop, and reggae. In fact, the point of hip-hop is to "flip" the music of other genres for use as the sound or instrumentation for the MC to rhyme over. Indeed, this is the main point about popular music as an example of popular culture. That is, American popular music, as well as that of any other culture, is not just of one form. It is at heart **pluralistic**.

Pluralistic: Ethnically, religiously, racially, and socially diverse

This demonstrates that although different music forms appeal to different social and ethnic groups, foremost they are always an interwoven reflection of the whole culture. Rock, jazz, blues, country, and hip-hop do not remain pure forms as they become popular; they become amalgamations of all ethnic strands and social group values. In directly interpreting the emotional language of a culture, popular music picks up influences as it goes, much like a snowball rolling downhill (Figure 8.4).



Figure 8.4. A flash mob is a large public gathering at which people perform a seemingly random act of music, dance, or theatre and then disperse. Flash mobs are an example of popular culture, largely made possible by social media. Flash mob in St. Petersburg, Russia, May 27, 2018.

What is your most anticipated popular culture event for the coming year? Many of us would respond with the name of a movie. Even though movies have experienced declines in theatre attendance in many societies since the 1950s (The Numbers, n.d.), with the advent of other visual media alternatives watching movies remains a useful popular culture example because it reflects, defines, and redefines society.

Movies are categorized in terms of **genre**—action, drama, comedy, disaster, crime, horror, epic, animated, documentary, and so on, and as such use different plot, characterization, imagery, and symbolism conventions to relate to audiences. From a sociological perspective, movies of every genre instruct and reflect social norms and depict urgent social problems. Psychologically, viewers of the drama film genre can identify with the characters and project their own feelings into the plot, which gives them a deep emotional tension and ultimately a release. Blockbuster films from the action genre can also have significant financial importance. For example, as of this writing, worldwide the highest-grossing films of all time are *Avatar* (2009), *Titanic* (1997), *Star Wars: The Force Awakens* (2015), and *Avengers: Infinity War* (2018)—each grossing over $2 billion (Box Office Mojo, 2019).

Genre: A kind or type, usually applied to films, books, and plays

Film production is a worldwide enterprise, with some critics arguing the film industries in Asia and Europe have produced the majority of socially and artistically worthwhile works. This has also meant movie audiences have become more diverse, that film as a popular culture example is universal. Thanks to multiple media options for viewing, all cultures, ages, socioeconomic classes, genders, ethnicities, and educational levels enjoy movies. Yet the movie viewer in the U.S. is still more likely to be young, female, affluent, educated, and urban.

Box 8.3 In Profile

Slasher Films

A slasher film is a subgenre of horror films. The typical plot is a violent psychopath stalks and murders a group of people, usually by using bladed tools. A typical theme is the "final girl" in which a young woman is left alone to face the killer's advances. Final girls are often depicted as virgins among sexually active teens (Harper, 2004, p. 34).

The genre hit its peak between 1978 and 1984. Notable slasher films of this period include *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre*, *Halloween*, *Friday the 13th*, and *A Nightmare on Elm Street*. Yet many slasher films released decades ago continue to attract audience followings today. Generally, in the 1990s and early 2000s, the genre moved over to home videos and television platforms, which also added elements from the fantasy genre. Meanwhile, for theatres, remakes of the earlier classics continue. For example, *Friday the 13th* has been remade 13 times.

What do these films tell us about the nature of the culture that loves them? One interpretation is that these films are an assault on all that society is supposed to cherish: youth, home, and school. The individual, the family, and the institution are dismembered in gruesome ways. For example, *The Texas Chain Saw Massacre* has been analyzed as a critique of capitalism, since it shows the horror of people quite literally living off other people. Another analysis suggests that in slasher films the attractive young women who are threatened by the maniac embody sexual pleasure, which must be annihilated. Film analysts also suggest that the audiences' expectation of nonclosure by the end of the film reflects the impermanent nature of the culture (Modleski, 1986). Social fears can perhaps be traced across the entire history of horror films. For example, mutant monsters rose from our fear of the nuclear bogeyman in the 1950s, and Zombies in the 1960s with Vietnam, and Zombies again in the 2000s as a reflection of viral pandemic fears (Griffiths, 2015).

In addition to spectator sport, popular music, and film, there are many more examples of popular culture, including comics and serialized novels, radio, and popular print (e.g., magazines), but our final illustration is television because it is at the hub of popular culture, providing a particularly fascinating reflection of culture. Not only does it hold a central place in our use of free time, but it also has become a primary means of communicating and validating what is popular (Kelly, 1982). Indeed, the amount of time people spend watching television is astounding. According to an American Time Use Survey (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2019), people in the U.S. spend over half of their free time watching television.

Box 8.4 By the Numbers

Television Watching in America

4:46 hours	Average daily time spent watching television by adults
6:30 hours	Average daily time spent watching television by children
9	Years the average person will have spent watching television if he/she lives to 75
2.3	Number of televisions in the average household (declining due to other platforms, i.e., tablets, etc.)
52	Percentage of Americans who regularly watch television while eating a meal

Source: Nielsen Media Research (2018)

Who watches television? Almost everyone, of course. Globally, Americans watch the most television, followed by residents of Poland and Japan (WorldAtlas, 2018). For the U.S., studies indicate that on average men watch more television than women, those 65 years and older watch more than other age groups, parents with small children watch the least, and residents of states primarily in the southeastern part of the country watch more than those in other states (Krantz-Kent, 2018). Most people do not, however, watch television exclusively. In addition to eating meals, typical accompanying activities include talking on the telephone, texting and other electronic device handling, getting dressed, doing chores, caring for children, and studying.

Television's hold on us has been of keen interest to scientists, and for decades, research has demonstrated heavy television viewing may lead to negative health consequences. For example, to determine if watching television is harmful, researchers have undertaken a wide variety of studies, including laboratory experiments monitoring brain waves (using an electroencephalograph, or EEG), skin resistance, and heart rate of people while they watch. From the EEG studies, as you might expect, people show less mental stimulation while watching television (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 2002).

Other studies have focused on the effects of the experience of television watching. For example, Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990) sampled people's feelings while they were engaged in various activities, including television watching. Foremost, and in agreement with the EEG studies, they found television viewing to be a passive, relaxing, low-concentration activity. Consequently, in contrast to other activities (Table 8.2), television watching was found to be less challenging, less social, and less active.

Table 8.2
Rank Ordering of the Experience Qualities for Television Viewing and Other Activities (1 = strongest to 5 = weakest)

Experience qualities	Television viewing	Public leisure (i.e., parties, theatre, dining out)	Working outside the home
Concentration	3	2	1
Challenge	5	2	*1*
Skill	5	2	1
Cheerful	3	1	4
Relaxed	1	2	5
Sociable	4	1	3
Alert	4	1	2
Strong	4	1	2
Active	4	2	1

Note. From Kubey and Csikszentmihalyi (1990).

Results from the same study (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 1990) also showed loneliness and negative feelings often drive the motivation to watch television. Heavy viewers wish to escape or avoid something. In addition, television seems to become less rewarding the longer it is watched. That is, although it is relaxing, as we increase the amount of time spent watching television, our satisfaction and enjoyment in the experience tend to drop off. Ironically, this means even though people often choose to watch television to escape bad feelings, they can feel worse as a result. Long television hours are also linked to higher material aspirations and anxiety (Frey, Benesch, & Stutzer, 2007).

In fact, some scholars liken television watching to substance addiction. According to Rutgers University psychologist Robert Kubey, millions of people "are so hooked on television that they fit the criteria for substance abuse as defined in the official psychiatric manual" (Herr, n.d., Influence of Television section, para. 3). According to Kubey, heavy viewers "exhibit five dependency symptoms—and only two are necessary to clinically diagnose a substance addiction: "1) using TV as a sedative; 2) indiscriminate viewing; 3) feeling loss of control while viewing; 4) feeling angry with oneself for watching too much; 5) inability to stop watching; and 6) feeling miserable when kept from watching"

Box 8.5 In Your Own Experience

Are You Addicted to Television?

There are many self-assessment quizzes that can help you assess your dependency on television. Try this one: http://www.quibblo.com/quiz/8YsVzeY/Are-You-Addicted-To-Television

Based on your results, would you say you do or do not have a television addiction? Why?

What is it about television, then, that has such a hold on us? In part, the attraction seems to spring from our biological orienting response. First described by Ivan Pavlov in 1927, the **orienting response** (or orienting reflex) is our instinctive visual or auditory reaction to any sudden or new stimulus (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 2004). It is part of our evolutionary heritage, a built-in sensitivity to movement from potential threats.

Orienting response: Instinctive visual or auditory reaction to novel stimulus

Typical orienting responses include dilation of the blood vessels to the brain, slowing of the heart, and con-

striction of blood vessels to major muscle groups. The brain focuses its attention on gathering more information while the rest of the body quiets. This is why it is difficult not to watch television when it is on. The stylistic features of television such as cuts, edits, zooms, pans, and sudden noises activate the orienting response, thereby keeping our attention on the screen.

Producers of television programming have found these features help increase viewers' attention, but speeding up the rate of cuts and edits eventually overloads the brain. For example, music videos and commercials that use rapid intercutting of unrelated scenes are designed more to hold our attention than to convey information. Thus, the orienting response becomes overworked (Figure 8.5).

Another answer to television's strong hold on us comes from the leisure quality of pleasure (see Chapter 2). British cultural studies scientist John Corner (1999) maintains we watch television simply because it is pleasurable. Specifically, it provides four types of pleasure: knowledge, comedy, fantasy, and distraction. For example, knowledge could be derived from history and nature programs; comedy from sitcoms and late-night talk shows; fantasy from soap operas and reality shows; and distraction from the pattern of repetition of the viewing week.



Figure 8.5. When the orienting response is overworked, we watch more television than we want, and enjoy it less.

In other words, this suggests the pleasure of television is in the act of viewing. This is labeled **scopophilia**—being the onlooker to unfolding events. As noticed early by psychologist Sigmund Freud (1915), watching other people is considered a way to objectify them, both to gain control and out of curiosity. Although the concept of scopophilia is applicable to films, photographs, and other visual popular culture forms, it is a particularly powerful pleasure in television viewing because of how much time we spend in this pastime.

Scopophilia: From the Greek "love of looking"; deriving pleasure from watching other people

Commenting on the trend of reality television, Andrejevic (2003) explained in the book *Reality TV: The Work of Being Watched* that scopophilia democratizes celebrity. In doing this, reality television paves the way for what he refers to as the coming interactive economy—relinquishing control of the media to consumers and viewers. That is, being watched is doing economic work.

Box 8.6
The Study Says

Personal Branding

An increasingly prevalent example of popular culture is the activity of personal branding. Personal branding is the use of marketing strategies to promote oneself. Originally used by celebrities, politicians, and people whose jobs require social networking, personal branding is now a common everyday pursuit (Zarkada, 2012) due to the emergence and growth of various social media platforms. According to a study by Liu and Suh (2017), in particular social media exposure has empowered especially women to market themselves as brands. Using a content analysis method, the researchers analyzed 243 posts from Instagram accounts. The results suggested that in addition to adhering to traditional beauty designators, these bloggers used social media to establish their branded selves in line with an increase of awareness of women's rights.

The Role of Entertainment

So what do spectator sports, popular music, films, and television suggest is the character of the society that loves them? We have explored many things popular culture reveals about culture, but in contemporary societies perhaps the overarching reflection is that we crave entertainment.

Entertainment comes from a variety of sources, but its goal is to have someone else or something else amuse us. An important quality of entertainment is the audience, which typically turns a private recreation activity into a public one. Most forms of entertainment have persisted over many centuries, ever evolving due to changes in culture.

Entertainment: Amusements provided by someone or something else that diverts and holds attention

One of the biggest cultural changes to affect entertainment, of course, is technology—specifically media. In many societies today, entertainment as the basis for popular culture is delivered primarily through media. Even theme parks are forms of **mediated entertainment**. We will use theme parks as an example of this, but first we will begin with some history.

Mediated entertainment: Entertainment provided via media

The roots of "amusement parks" go back to the Middle Ages, with pleasure gardens and fairs located on the outskirts of major European cities. These gardens featured live performances, fireworks, dancing, games, and freak-show attractions. One of these, Bakken, north of Copenhagen, Denmark, which opened in 1583, continues to operate today. Amusement parks entered their golden era with the 1893 World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago, which introduced the Ferris wheel and the midway. Under full swing by the 1930s, this growing worldwide industry had at its center Coney Island in New York City, where the world's most well-known roller coaster—The Cyclone—opened in 1927.

Innovations provided greater and more intense thrills to the growing crowds, but following the Great Depression of the mid-1930s, the world's amusement park census had gone from 1,500 to about 400 parks. With the advent of television in the 1950s, the industry was again in distress, because more people stayed home for entertainment. A new concept was needed.

This new concept was the theme park. With the theme park, a culture's fascination with being amused turned to a different format. Sea World trains marine animals to entertain us and Knott's Berry Farm creates amusements via the western frontier. Universal Studios celebrates films and the theme of Holiday World is Christmas and other seasonal holidays. When Walt Disney opened Disneyland in 1955, this new era of entertainment followed. The basic formula was to take the common rides found in amusement parks (roller coasters, etc.) and use them to tell stories. Whimsical architecture, landscap-

ing, characters, and even the park visitors become part of the stories. We will amplify this by tracing the history of the Disney theme parks.

Box 8.7 What Do You Say?

An Early Theme Park

In the 1890s in Brooklyn, New York's Ambrose Park, showman Nate Salsbury developed a "picture of the South" park called Black America (Fiske, 2014). Black America's purpose, Salsbury told a newspaper reporter, "was to show the people of the North the better side of the colored man and woman of the South" (Fiske, 2014, para. 3). Billed as a typical plantation village of 150 cabins and 500 "Southern Colored People," it presented scenes of "rural simplicity," including "all sorts of negro sports and pastimes," in a realistic slavery setting (Fiske, 2014, para. 5). To achieve this level of authenticity, participants in the exhibition were persons who had formerly lived and worked in southern slavery situations.


Black America

Opens SAT. AFTERNOON, May 25, at Greater New York's delightful pleasure grounds,

AMBROSE PARK, 39th Street Ferry, South Brooklyn.

A Typical Plantation Village of 150 Cabins,

500 Southern Colored People,

presenting Home Life, Folk Lore, Pastimes of Dixie, More Music, Mirth, Merriment for the Masses; More Fun, Jollity, Humor and Character presented in

Marvellously Massive Lyric Magnitude for the Millions

than since the days of Cleopatra

General Admission to Grounds and Covered Seats ONLY 25 CENTS.

Special Chairs, 50cts., 75cts. Box Seats, $1.00.

FARE ONLY 5 CENTS, via 39th Street Ferry, foot Whitehall Street, Battery, landing at doors.

TWO PERFORMANCES DAILY, 3 and 8:15 P. M., Wet or Dry.

Cotton fields were put in, and a cotton gin was set up and operated. Gardens were planted, and demonstrations of tobacco processing were made. While walking among the cabins, tourists could interact with staged vignettes, including a preacher on a mule while he called on his flock to repent, or a young girl sitting on a porch while being courted by admirers. Press accounts at the time referred to Black America as reproducing the happy aspects of plantation life.

1. Was Black America a success or failure? Do some independent investigations and finish the history story of this early theme park. Why was it a success or a failure?
2. Since the park emphasized positive aspects of slavery, did audiences find it entertaining? Educational? What is the role of entertainment in education in theme parks today?
3. From today's vantage point, we are likely to point out much that was wrong with the depiction of Southern black life as it was first staged at Ambrose Park. But for its time did this simplistic view have a useful function? Do some independent investigating and determine how the performers were treated at the park. Were they paid? Was the park an "underground railroad" of sorts for escaping harsh plantation life? Did it launch careers?

When Disneyland opened, many people were skeptical that an amusement park without any of the traditional attractions would succeed. Instead of a midway, Disneyland offered five distinct themed areas, providing "guests" with the fantasy of travel to different lands and times. As you know, Disneyland was an immediate success. No longer did patrons want a group of rides in a field by a lake, they wanted an entire perfect world to take them out of their real world for a day. The thrills of theme parks are often obscured from the outside by landscaping that reinforces the feeling of escape. The parks are kept clean and the staff play along by way of costumes and mannerisms depicting the theme. Walt Disney said,

> Disneyland will be based upon and dedicated to the ideals, the dreams and the hard facts that have created America. And, it will be uniquely equipped to dramatize these dreams and facts and send them forth as a source of courage and inspiration to all the world. (Mosley, 1985, p. 221)

Today, there are six Disney theme park resorts around the world, including the newest Shanghai Disney Resort, which opened in June 2016. In 2018, the Disney parks hosted approximately 157 million guests (a 4.9% increase from the year before), making Disney the world's most visited theme park company (Bell, 2019).

Since its opening, Disneyland has undergone multiple expansions and renovations. Meanwhile, some of the earliest themes remain today. For example, the attraction Jungle Cruise was part of the opening day. Located in Adventureland (an area within the Magic Kingdom), and departing from a 1930s British explorers' lodge, it simulates a riverboat cruise down several major rivers of Asia, Africa, and South America. In 1963, The Enchanted Tiki Room demonstrated the first use of audio animatronics in a theme park attraction. An extension of animation in film, animated mechanical characters (in this case tropical birds) later became a staple in Disney theme parks.

Yet there have been complaints about what the Disney theme parks reveal about the culture. First, Rojek (1993) writes that Disney theme parks present a moralistic and idealized version of the "American Way." Here's how he described it:

> The moral order of the parks is based on a nostalgic picture of American society—the barbershop quartet; the streets of a small town; shiny-faced youth dressed in red, white, and blue; and the ever-smiling characters from Disney films. Throughout is a narrative of the moral and economic superiority of the American way of life. (p. 122)

For example, in Adventureland armchair travelers go to far-off and mysterious destinations, such as the Caribbean. When they encounter "ferocious" wild animals and "barbaric" pirates, the dangers are always defeated by the "superiority of white, middle-class power" (Rojek, 1993, p. 128). Next stop is Frontierland (also in the Magic Kingdom), which "symbolizes the triumph of white, male culture over nature" (Rojek, 1993, p. 128). Essentially, Rojek's criticism is the Disney theme parks overstep their entertainment role. They are underpinned by powerful political and social values; they distort history and present American society as free of conflict.

An illustration of Disney's response to such criticism is a recent change made to the Pirates of the Caribbean attraction (in Adventureland). The era depicted is the mid-1700s. The story line reflects the history of this time when pirates roamed the Caribbean in search of whatever riches they could take. For example, at both Disneyland in California and the Magic Kingdom in Florida, hundreds of millions of visitors ride past the auction scenes where animatronic women are shown tied together so that they can be auctioned like chattel to pirates. Above them hangs a banner that reads "Take a Wench for a Bride." But, in 2018, Disney made a change that does not reflect authentic history, but rather contemporary standards for political correctness. Now in the attraction, there are still auctions, but instead of women, it is chickens and goods that are on the block. And, the red-headed "wench" formerly being auctioned off is now in the spotlight, having been transformed into a pirate herself!

Another criticism of Disney theme parks comes from Bryman (1995), who critiques the nature of control. Control, says Bryman, is in evidence in a variety of ways. It operates at the level of how the visitor is handled while in the parks to the way the parks relate to their surrounding environment. For example, there is control over the imagination of visitors. One way this is done is through pulling out undesirable elements in stories told in the attractions.

Also, Bryman cites how visitors' movements are controlled, both overtly and covertly, by the park's physical layout and by its built-in narratives. For example, the distinction between an attraction and its queue has been eroded by mini-story themes along the way that make you feel you are already "in" the ride while standing in line. Also, staff are trained to behave in the Disney way, including control over language (customers are guests) and rules about physical appearance (the Disney look). Not everyone finds the "Disney way" offensive, however; the newly created Disney Institute is in the consulting busi-

ness of helping other companies be more like Disney (Barnes, 2012). Clients have included Häagen-Dazs, United Airlines, the Super Bowl, and the country of South Africa.

The Disney example of theme parks does beg the big question, is mediated-entertainment-based popular culture a good thing? Like Rojek and Bryman, others including Postman (1986) say no. In the book *Amusing Ourselves to Death*, Postman argues our popular culture, particularly television, does not merely reflect our culture, but rather has become our culture. Generations reared on mediated entertainment, he asserts, view the world, and ideas, differently.

That is, we come to expect life to be presented in small, disconnected, and amusing chunks. As a result, we can no longer think critically or behave rationally. Postman (1986) feels, therefore, our ability to live a meaningful life, both individually and communally, is compromised by a medium that "must suppress the content of ideas in order to accommodate the requirements of visual interest" (p. 92). The result of such ignorance is a culture addicted to "fluff."

Bianculli (2000) also writes about mediated entertainment. In contrast to Postman, however, Bianculli believes that especially television serves critically important educational and social functions. He asserts television is opening the American mind because it provides positive role models, good storytelling, and likable characters.

Similarly, Johnson (2005) defends mediated entertainment by claiming it is making us smarter. In the mid-1980s, Johnson claims, roughly starting with the television show *Hillstreet Blues*, programming of all sorts became more complicated and nonlinear. Since then viewers have been required to remember bits of information, fill in gaps in plots, and make learned guesses to understand what is going on. Johnson even makes the claim, although highly controversial and unproven, that as a result of television, IQ scores have increased steadily over the past few decades. Just compare the sort of brain that was happy watching *Dragnet* in the 1960s, he points out, to the brain that watches *CSI: Crime Scene Investigation* today.

Further, there is another big question about the role of entertainment in society. That is, in contemporary societies, is everything potentially entertaining? On February 12, 2014, Corvette enthusiasts across the globe awoke to the news that overnight a massive sinkhole had opened inside the National Corvette Museum in Bowling Green, Kentucky. Eight gorgeous and important cars slid into the pit that was 25 to 30 feet deep and 40 feet wide at the top. Two of the Corvettes were quickly restored, and the final restorable Corvette—the 1962 Tuxedo Black—was finally unveiled at the museum 4 years later.

But what about the sinkhole? Right after the cave-in, museum officials noticed a significant increase in visitors—up more than 50%—and museum memberships soared! New merchandizing sales, including sinkhole tee shirts, postcards, and prints took off. Capitalizing on the interest, the museum postponed the excavation work needed to repair the hole and remove the cars. People wanted to see the mangled vehicles and gaping earth. So even today, a section of the sinkhole and the remaining unrepairable



Figure 8.6. Some work skills, such as cooking, have developed into staged entertainments. Turin, Italy, June 12, 2018: Presentation of the dishes at the jury of Bocuse d'Or, the world's most famous international cooking competition.

Corvettes have been left as they were so visitors can look down to see the carnage. Indeed, even a "car wreck" is entertaining.

Another quandary is that some activities that were once considered entertaining, particularly public punishments, have been removed from the public arena. Others, such as fencing or archery, once necessary skills for some, have become serious sports and even professions for the participants, at the same time developing into entertainment with wider appeal for bigger audiences. In the same way, other necessary skills, such as cooking, have developed into performances among professionals, staged as global competitions and then broadcast for entertainment (Figure 8.6). Entertainment for one group or individual may be regarded as work by another.

So this is a complicated question. What is your position on the goodness of contemporary popular culture? Perhaps the point is that we must all learn to discern for ourselves what we will consume and why. Television, movies, spectator sport, popular music, and theme parks can make or break us as a culture. We must decide what entertainment forms make "good" culture.

What We Understand About Popular Culture

Popular culture, or mass leisure, is an important reflection of society. Because of its omnipresent expression of the society itself, it also can shape and instruct society. From studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- Popular culture is characterized as popular, inclusionary, commercial, trendy, and youth directed.
  Select two of these popular culture characteristics and describe them using examples from your own favorite forms of popular culture.
- Television is by far the pastime we participate in most frequently and thus is a central example of popular culture.
  In what ways is television such a pervasive example of popular culture?
- Research suggests that even though television viewing is freely chosen and provides relaxation and escape, it is the least enjoyable and invigorating of all pastimes.
  Based on the chapter discussion, present at least two reasons why this may be so.
- Other examples of popular culture include spectator sports, popular music, films, and theme parks.
  Select one of these examples and explain why it is a popular culture form in terms of the five popular culture characteristics.
- Since most popular culture in modern societies is media-based entertainment, its positive or negative role in shaping and reflecting the values and character of society is worthy of debate.
  Explain this statement by presenting two contrasting arguments presented in the chapter.

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CHAPTER 9

Leisure and Technology

(coauthored with Patricia D. Setser – lead)

Why is technology important to leisure?

Over 5,000 years ago, technological innovations began reflecting humankind's efforts to control their environment for their own benefit, including their leisure benefit.

In what ways has technology changed our lives?

Chiefly, it has made us prosumers—professional knowledge workers who produce and consume media.

In what ways have these changes to our lives affected our leisure?

Examples include social network games, GPS/A-GPS games, virtual reality and AI entertainment, AR entertainment, streaming media entertainment, Internet of Things (IoT), AI assistants (Siri, Alexa), and travel mobile apps.

What is the future of technology and leisure?

The future holds both promise and challenge. Dilemmas such as security, protection from identity theft, what is fake and what is not, mobile device addiction or too much "screen time," and other issues will need to be continually addressed.



From the invention of the wheel over 5,000 years ago to the myriad technologies of today, there has always been a synergistic relationship of ongoing codependency, influence, and production between technology and society. It can develop economies, increase productivity efficiencies, enhance communication, and overall improve the quality of life. Technology can also ruin economies, stymie productivity, and miscommunicate. There are unwanted by-products that pollute natural resources, and people's values can be lowered as a result of technology. Yet technology can also provide life-saving treatments for illnesses and soften the pain of loneliness. Indeed, philosophical disagreements over whether technology improves or worsens the human condition predominate.

Technology is omnipresent in our lives, and because of this it produces many effects. For example, what about the average young person today who spends practically every waking minute using a smartphone, computer, television, mobile device, or other technological device? According to the nonprofit group Common Sense Media (2018), American teenagers (13 to 18 year olds) spend an average of 9 hours a day with digital technology, entertaining themselves with streaming video, listening to music, and playing games (excluding time spent at school or for homework). And "tweens" (8 to 12 years old) are spending 6 hours with entertainment media daily. In what ways might this affect how children grow up?

And what about the over $1 billion spent to build the Mercedes-Benz Stadium in Atlanta, Georgia (which hosted the 2019 Super Bowl)? This investment included technology features such as the Halo Board—63,000 square feet of 360-degree HD video screen for live-action viewing. The mobile navigation technology tools assist fans in navigating the parking lot to find parking spaces. The mobile convenience technology tools such as WiFi, Bluetooth, sensors, and apps allow crowdsourced data to be used in real time for staff to track foot traffic, concession-stand inventory, and bathroom cleanliness. And the mobile security technology tools monitor massive crowds in a way that would be impossible for a human security guard to do.

The investment also included the implementation of IoT (Internet of Things) to connect fans via mobile devices, social media, and proprietary apps. For example, using the IoT and cameras, stadiums can stream replays from multiple angles directly to fans' mobile devices. Real-time statistics are provided via sensors implanted in player uniforms and footballs—fans can see up-to-the-minute details about a player's speed, position, distance, and more (great for Fantasy football). During the games, fans can upload their reactions and thoughts via social media platforms, such as Twitter and Snapchat, and the stadium can then display these posts on media screens. (For more information, visit the Mercedes-Benz Stadium website and www.thomasnet.com/insights/.)

And what about large companies such as Amazon, Walmart, UPS, Google, and other global postal companies investing in drone delivery projects? Amazon Prime Air (Figure 9.1) is Amazon's new drone delivery service available in select cities in 2019. The service utilizes quadcopters that fly individual packages to customers within 30 minutes of ordering. For an order to qualify for 30-minute delivery, it must be less than 5 pounds, small enough to fit in the cargo box that the craft carries, and have a delivery location within a 10-mile radius of a participating Amazon order fulfillment center. How might this change the course of our daily lives? (For more information, see Amazon Prime Air on *Wikipedia*.)



Figure 9.1. Will the Amazon Prime Air delivery drone replace Santa Claus? The future of drone deliveries includes not only merchandise but also medicines, documents, and of course, pizza.

In sum, technology affects the expression and enjoyment of leisure. Technology has given people innovative places to play, better equipment and clothing to aid their fun, and new activities to pursue. Thanks to technology we have greater access to information about leisure options, we have new horizons in leisure for persons with disabilities, and tourism has become an easy and global enterprise. The efficiencies of technology have also been a boon to professionals working in the leisure fields, providing better ways to match participants with programs.

In this chapter, we will discuss the rapidly evolving nature of leisure and technology. We will begin with an introductory discussion of definitions and history of technology. This will follow with consideration of the pervasive nature of technology in our lives and then specifically in our leisure. We will conclude with conjectures about the future of technology in leisure.

Box 9.1. In Profile

Hugging Exosuit

This hip-hugging "exosuit" pant uses artificial intelligence (AI) to make walking and running easier. It is a portable, robotic device that uses AI to adjust to the runner's gait. In a paper published in *Science*, a team of researchers from Harvard University and the University of Nebraska Omaha developed the exosuit that uses AI. The exosuit is part of DARPA's former Warrior Web program and has been in the making for years. It is worn at the waist and thighs and is designed to work with the wearer's gluteal muscles by adding torque to the hip joint. An actuator attached to the user's lower back is controlled by an algorithm and allows the suit to adjust to different gaits. In early tests, the device reduced user's metabolic rates by 9% when they were walking and by 4% when they were running.



Source: Fisher, 2019; Dent, 2013

Definitions and History

Inventions and innovations typically progress very logically, with each new discovery evolving from the last and often born out of necessity. We usually refer to these innovations as technology. *Technology* is not a neutral word; different people will give it different meaning depending on their viewpoint and context. So, to be clear about terms here, we define **technology** as the application of scientific knowledge for practical purposes. That is, the uses of the products and processes of technology "are like some kind of extension of the human being that replicate, amplify or supplement bodily or mental faculties or capabilities. This basic idea of extension recurs throughout the study of technology and is found in discussions of technology that go back at least as far as Aristotle" (Lawson, 2017, p. 99).

Technology: Innovations that apply scientific knowledge for practical purposes

A particular type of technology is information technology. **Information technology (IT)** is the study or use of systems (especially computers and telecommunications) for storing, retrieving, and sending information. It includes applications such as television, computers, and cell phones.

Information technology (IT): Computing and telecommunications inventions

Box 9.2 In Profile

Alvin Toffler

Alvin Toffler (1928–2016) was an American writer and futurist known for his works discussing modern digital technologies and communications. In his early writings, he focused on the impact of technology, which he termed "information overload." In 1970, his first major book about the future, *Future Shock*, became a worldwide best seller. Toffler coined the term "future shock" to refer to what happens to a society when change happens too fast—resulting in social confusion and a breakdown of normal decision-making processes. In 1980, he published *The Third Wave*, where he foresaw such technological advances as cloning, personal computers, the Internet, cable television, and mobile communication. In this book, he described the first and second waves as agricultural and industrial revolutions. The "third wave" represents the information, computer-based revolution. Since Toffler's work, several scholars have further suggested that we are currently in a "fourth wave"—the age of communication, experience, and thought.

Based on the storage and processing technologies employed, we can distinguish four distinct phases of IT history (Brady & Elkner, 2017; Figure 9.2). See Table 9.1.

1. Premechanical: The earliest of information technology periods (between 3000 BC and 1450 AD)
2. Mechanical: Here (between 1450 and 1840) we begin to see legacies for current technologies.
3. Electromechanical: The time between 1840 and 1940 marks the beginnings of telecommunication.
4. Digital: From 1940 to now marks the current phase.

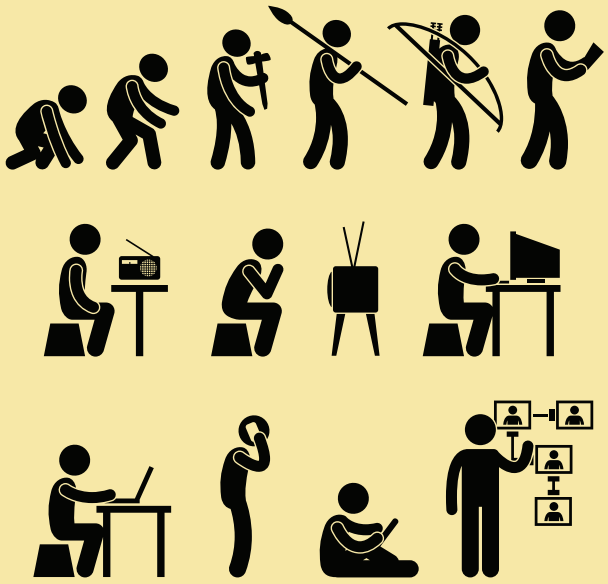


Figure 9.2. The evolution of technology traces the progression of the use of tools.

Within the current era of digital computing, there have been four main subphases (Brady & Elkner, 2017):

- The first was the era of vacuum tubes and punch cards, such as the ENIAC and Mark 1. Rotating magnetic drums were used for internal storage.
- The second phase replaced vacuum tubes with transistors, punch cards were replaced with magnetic tape, and rotating magnetic drums were replaced by magnetic cores for internal storage. Also, during this time, high-level programming languages, such as FORTRAN and COBOL, were created.
- The third phase replaced transistors with integrated circuits, magnetic tape was used throughout all computers, and magnetic core turned into metal oxide semiconductors. An operating system showed up around this time, along with the programming language BASIC.
- The fourth phase brought in CPUs (central processing units), which contained memory, logic, and control circuits all on a single chip. The personal computer was developed (Apple II), as was the graphical user interface (GUI).

Table 9.1
Timeline of the History of Technology

Years	Technological phase	Toffler's wave	Innovations
3000 BC–1450 AD	Premechanical		Petroglyphs, alphabet
1450–1840	Mechanical		Pascaline mechanical computer, difference engine, slide ruler
1840–1940	Electromechanical		Telegraph, telephone, Morse code, Marconi radio
1900–1910	Electromechanical	First – Agricultural	Radio signal sent across the Atlantic, Model T
1910–1920	Electromechanical	First – Agricultural	Mechanical pencil, arc welder
1920–1930	Electromechanical	Second – Industrial	Black-and-white television, robot, traffic signal
1930–1940	Electromechanical	Second – Industrial	Electron microscope, color television
1940–1950	Digital	Second – Industrial	ENIAC computer, transistor, COBOL, Velcro, atomic bomb
1950–1960	Digital	Second – Industrial	Barcode, integrated circuit, overhead projector
1960–1970	Digital	Second & Third	Compact disc, LCD projector, ERIC national information systems
1970–1980	Digital	Third – Information	Microprocessor, calculators, Apple II, computer mouse, WWW
1980–1990	Digital	Third – Information	IBM PC, Windows, Dell computer, Internet, Nintendo, Sony Walkman, first commercial mobile phone (Motorola = $4,000).
1990–2000	Digital	Third – Information	Smartboards; HDTV; Internet browsers; 1G, 2G, & 2.5 G networks; first mobile Internet access; first touch-screen phone (IBM); first phone with keyboard (Nokia)
2000–2010	Digital	Fourth – Communication, etc.	3G networks, streaming Discovery Education to classroom, first camera phone (Sharp and Samsung), first WiFi-enabled phone (Blackberry), iPhone launched (Apple), iPod, iPad, Android phone launched (Google), YouTube. By 2007, text becomes the most used form of communication, passing phone calls.
2010–present	Digital	Fourth – Communication, etc.	Fiber optics, 4G networks, 3D television, supercomputers, FitBit, Apple Watch, nanotechnology, social media (Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, Instagram, etc.), apps, IoT (Internet of Things), artificial intelligence, virtual reality. By 2014, 68% of Americans owned smartphones and mobile Internet usage surpassed desktop usage. By 2015, 2.6 billion smartphone subscriptions worldwide.

Pervasiveness of Technology in Our Lives

Information technology (IT) is now infused into almost every aspect of life. For individuals, as IT has become more available, with smaller "chips" and lower cost, the stage has been set for the "technology of me." For example, safety monitoring and assistance technologies for elder care are improving quickly—driven by advances in biosensing, sensory networks, robotics, and cloud computing.

Also, wearable technologies enable us to work and play anytime and anywhere. Wearables such as smart watches, activity trackers, and eyeglasses with cameras and GPS/A-GPS systems encourage us to blur the distinctions of when and how we work and enjoy leisure. It used to be that work and leisure balanced on a kind of seesaw in our lives. That is, now we work; later we play. Now, driven by our technologies, work and leisure are completely blurred, like ingredients in a blender. Now, we work while playing and play while working.



Figure 9.3. The prosumer of today is a professional knowledge worker who uses sophisticated, user-friendly software and apps hosted on various electronic devices.

All of this has led to the emergence of *prosumers*. A term originally coined by American futurist Alvin Toffler, the **prosumer** is a "professional knowledge worker" (Cunningham, 2016) who also happens to be a consumer. Furthered by the dot-com era in business, a prosumer is a person who consumes and produces media. That is, we are professional consumers of various technologies (Figure 9.3). Here are some examples:

Prosumer: Production by consumers

- We use accounting skills when we use software such as QuickBooks.
- We use search engines on the Internet with sophisticated techniques of placing "meta tags" in the search in a "Boolean algebra" way to find information on the Web.
- We use photography and video production skills as we manipulate images and video on the iPhone—cropping, rotating, touching up, and so on.
- We use marketing skills of contact management, lead management, and demographics as we decide who in our contact list is a candidate for texting versus e-mail versus phoning based on that person's demographics.
- We use publishing, marketing, and graphic arts skills as we use software to publish web pages, create brochures and flyers, self-publish books and magazines, and so on.

This prosumer concept draws us to an inevitable conclusion: IT has invaded every aspect of our lives. This is because since the middle of the last century we have been on a wave of fusion of technologies that is blurring the lines between the physical and the digital (Schwab, 2016). The speed of current breakthroughs has and continues to transform everything at an exponential pace. Because all this has direct implications for our leisure, we now highlight social media, GPS/A-GPS, virtual reality, augmented reality, AI assistants, streaming media, and mobile apps.

First, social media has become powerful in our lives. Especially, Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube play huge roles in civil society and have even been known to start revolutions! Fairly recent examples include the Libyan revolution, the Arab Spring revolution, the Occupy Wall Street revolution, and the Ukrainian revolution (Garst, 2018).

Social media: The collective of online communications channels dedicated to community-based input, interaction, content sharing, and collaboration

While a definition of **social media** is challenging because of the variety of platforms and uses, a broad description is that it involves electronic-mediated communication tools whereby people can create and share information about themselves (Figure 9.4). Social media technologies take on many forms including forums, microblogging, social networking, photo and video sharing, and social gaming. Websites and applications can also include social bookmarking, social curation, and wikis (Techtarget.com, 2019a).



Figure 9.4. Social media more closely mimics face-to-face conversations than do other electronic communication forms, such as e-mail and message boards. But it also means more opportunities for social gaffes. As a result, users are beginning to establish new social conventions.

Social media depends on various technologies through which individuals, communities, and organizations exchange user-generated content. The most popular apps include Facebook, Whatsapp, Instagram, Twitter, LinkedIn, Messenger, YouTube, and others (Techtarget.com, 2019a). These technologies have introduced substantial and pervasive changes to communication—so much so that they are the focus of the emerging field of "technoself" studies, the interdisciplinary field of research dedicated to understanding human identity within a technological society (Luppicini, 2013).

Box 9.3. Web Explore

Deepfake

Remember the *Forrest Gump* movie (1994)? There were many video clips in this movie where very skilled artists digitally inserted fictional Forrest into archival video footage with JFK and other historical scenes. This process was time consuming and expensive. Today, deepfake technology is being developed and proliferating, making it possible for anyone (prosumer) to be able to make fake videos.

The definition of *deepfake*, a phrase coined in 2017, follows:

> Deepfake (a portmanteau of "deep learning" and "fake") is a technique for human image synthesis based on artificial intelligence. It is used to combine and superimpose existing images and videos onto source images or videos using a machine learning technique known as generative adversarial network. ("Deepfake," n.d., para. 1)

To see some recent examples of deepfake videos, visit https://www.creativebloq.com/features/deepfake-examples

Have you seen or experienced any examples of deepfake videos in your own life? What are some ways that you think leisure and modern society will be affected, positively or negatively?

For more information about deepfake, you may want to visit https://www.cnn.com/interactive/2019/01/business/pentagons-race-against-deepfakes/

Another illustration of the pervasiveness of technology in our lives is GPS (Global Positioning System). GPS is an American global navigation satellite system that provides location and time information anywhere on or near the Earth when there is an unobstructed line of sight. While GPS extends positioning capabilities to users around the world, other systems are also provided by Russia, India, and China. GPS was originally a U.S. military project, but today GPS- (and A-GPS) based technology has widespread civilian applications for commerce, scientific studies, tracking and surveillance, banking, earthquake measurement, and disaster relief, and of course, none of us can go anywhere without the GPS system in our cars or even wristwatches.

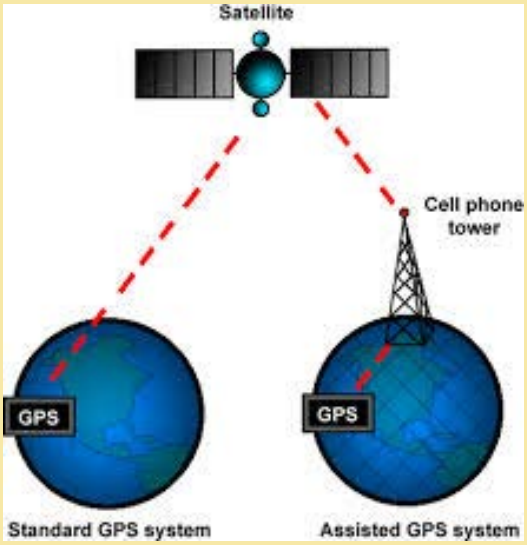


Figure 9.5. As of December 2018, 73 GPS navigation satellites have been launched, of which 31 are operational, 9 are in reserve, 1 is being tested, 30 have been retired, and 2 were lost at launch. The constellation requires a minimum of 24 operational satellites, and the current official target count is 33. Source: "List of GPS Satellites," n.d.

What is the difference between GPS and A-GPS (Figure 9.5)? First, they are both navigational aids that use information from satellites to determine their exact location on Earth. **GPS** (Global Positioning System) does this by communicating with four or more satellites to determine exact location coordinates. **A-GPS** (Assisted GPS or Augmented GPS), on the other hand, is a system that improves the GPS satellite-based positioning system. A-GPS is extensively used with GPS-capable cellular phones. Its development was accelerated by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) 911 requirement to make cell phone location data available to emergency call dispatchers. A-GPS gets the information from the satellites by using a network resource such as mobile networks, also called as-

sistant servers. A-GPS is faster in finding the location, but GPS gives more precise location information. While there is no additional cost involved in using GPS devices, an A-GPS has additional costs involved because it uses resources of the wireless carrier's mobile network. GPS is mainly employed in cars, planes, and ships, while A-GPS is employed in mobile phones.

GPS: Radio navigation system that allows land, sea, and airborne users to determine their exact location, velocity, and time 24 hours a day, anywhere in the world

A-GPS: A system that often significantly improves the startup performance of a GPS satellite-based positioning system; used with GPS-capable cellular phones

Next, we will overview virtual reality. Technological virtual Internet experiences have been available for some time. An example is a site called 360 Cities (https://www.360cities.net/). This site uses the power of the Internet's audiovisual resources to allow the user to view high-resolution, 360-degree virtual reality–type videos of many of the most interesting cities in the world. Google Earth and Google Streetview also provide virtual experiences (Benckendorff, Xiang, & Sheldon, 2019).

We will define **virtual reality (VR)** as a computer-generated simulation of a three-dimensional environment that a person can interact with using special electronic equipment, such as a helmet with a screen inside or gloves fitted with sensors (Figure 9.6). Sometimes also referred to as "immersive multimedia" or "computer-simulated reality," it mimics a user's physical presence in a fictional world. The experience can include not only sight but also touch, hearing, and smell.

Virtual reality: An artificial world of images and other experiences created by a computer that is affected by the actions of a person



Figure 9.6. Virtual reality applications can improve quality of life, for those with limited mobility, for example. Yet there are also health and safety considerations, especially from prolonged use. These include anxiety, eyestrain, and motion sickness.

There are wide ranging uses of VR, including in architecture, engineering, medicine, and urban design; however, a majority of the advances have been made in the entertainment industries, including games, film, and theme parks. The immersive environment can be similar to the real world (e.g., when used to train pilots), or it can differ significantly from reality (e.g., in VR games).

Prosumers, using 360-degree cameras, are creating their own photos and videos. Essentially, they are capturing and producing their own VR experiences to be shared and published to Facebook or YouTube. Prosumers now have a new way to tell their traveling and grandchild stories (Carter, 2016)!

Augmented reality (AR), not to be confused with VR, is defined in Wikipedia as "an interactive experience of a real-world environment where the objects that reside in the real world are enhanced by computer-generated perceptual information, sometimes across multiple sensory modalities, including visual, auditory, haptic, somatosensory and olfactory" ("Augmented Reality," n.d. para. 1).

Augmented reality: An interactive experience where objects from the real world are enhanced by computer-generated perceptual information

Some theme parks have aggressively embraced VR and AR technologies to add value to their attractions and to provide experiences that go well beyond the park's gates. Examples of such immersive, shared attractions include Seaworld's Kraken roller coaster that has VR headsets syncing to the ride and Disney World's Avatar: Flight of Passage that offers a parallel experience to that featured in the film (Plogstedt, 2018).

With **streaming media** technologies, content is sent in compressed form over the Internet and displayed by a viewer in real time. This means a user does not have to wait to download an entire file to use it—it is sent in a continuous stream of data played at the same time it arrives. In the beginning, streaming media services were basically add-ons to DVD and digital downloads for movies and television shows. It was a supplement to cable television. Now, with high speed Internet connections and the availability of video streaming devices, streaming video is becoming ubiquitous. Its acceleration is causing the decline of traditional cable. As of this writing, the top streaming video players in the industry include Netflix, YouTube TV, Hulu, and Amazon Prime Video (Moore & Albanesius, 2019)

Streaming media: Video or audio content sent in compressed form over the Internet and played immediately

Virtual assistant (AI assistant): An application program that understands natural language voice commands and completes tasks for the user

A **virtual assistant** or **artificial intelligence (AI) assistant** is an application program that understands natural language voice commands and completes tasks for the user. Popular AI assistants include Amazon Alexa, Apple's Siri, Google Now, and Microsoft's Cortana. The technologies that power AI assistants require massive amounts of data that feed AI platforms. These AI platforms include machine learning, natural language processing, and speech recognition. As the user interacts with an AI assistant, it learns from data input and becomes a better predictor of the user's needs (Techtarget.com, 2019b).

Mobile apps: generally small, individual software units with a specific function

Finally, mobile applications, or **mobile apps**, are computer software tools developed specifically for small, handheld wireless mobile devices, such as smartphones and tablets (Figure 9.7). Sometimes apps are preinstalled into the device, but they are more commonly distributed through app stores, such as Apple's App Store or Google Play. Some apps are free, while others must be purchased. Originally, mobile apps were offered for general productivity and information retrieval, including e-mail, calendaring, stock market, and weather forecasting. However, public demand drove rapid expansion into other categories. For example, as of the first quarter of 2019, the App Store (for iOS devices) hosts 2.2 million apps and Google Play (for Android devices) hosts 2.6 million apps (Iqbal, 2019b).

There are 33 categories of apps in Google Play and 24 in the App Store. Of these, seven app categories reach more than 3% of all users. The top seven app categories are games, business, education, lifestyle, entertainment, utilities, and travel (Thinkmobiles, n.d.).



Figure 9.7 Bottom line, though, is there really "an app for that"?

Leisure Applications of Technology

Leisure activities have always changed over time, but the digital age has probably changed them the most in the least amount of time (Ramasubbu, 2015). In some cases, certain traditional forms of leisure activities, such as socializing, travel, and reading, have been modified perhaps beyond recognition. The technological innovations of the digital age have caused this "collapse of space and time" (Benckendorff et al., 2019, p. 323). Time and space no longer restrict us from connecting and working. Work or play can be done at any time and in any place, as the Internet connects us to whomever we want and whenever we want. So, in many cases, the distinctions between leisure and technology have become difficult to tease out.

One example is toys. While you might not at first think of children's toys as leisure technology, their history traces increasing technological developments. The origin of toys is prehistoric; dolls representing infants, animals, and soldiers, as well as representations of tools used by adults, have been found at archaeological sites (Powell, 2001). The earliest toys were made from materials found in nature, such as rocks, sticks, and clay. Later, Ancient Egyptian children played with dolls that had wigs and movable limbs made from pottery and wood, and in Ancient Greece and Ancient Rome, children's dolls were made of terra-cotta or wax.

As technology changed and civilizations progressed, toys also changed. The toys you grew up with, for example, were likely made from plastic, cloth, and synthetic materials and were often powered by batteries. Today, there are computerized, electronic toys, including dolls that can recognize and identify things, including the voice of the owner. Hot Wheels cars can now zoom across iPad screens, and laser tag can be played with an iPhone inserted in a gun, where the phone display shows live video of whatever is ahead of the barrel.

And what kid (or adult?) wouldn't love to build or have their own robot? For example, there is the Makeblock mBot Smart Robot kit that introduces STEM to elementary-school-aged children. No soldering necessary and it is compatible with LEGOs. The child explores obstacle avoidance and line following with minimal coding. Also, there is Cozmo, a tiny robot that hooks up to an Android or iOS device. Cozmo is programmable in step-by-step ways but also provides preprogrammed games children can dive into immediately. Cozmo does face recognition and develops its own personality (Hodgkins, 2019).

Box 9.4
The Study Says

Disney Research

Disney Research is an international network of industry and academic research labs, including Carnegie Mellon University and the Swiss Federal Institute of Technology. Its mission is to push the scientific and technological forefront of innovation at The Walt Disney Company, including for movies, theme parks, games, and cruises. The labs carry out both basic and application-driven research. Study topics include AR/VR, digital fabrication, artificial intelligence, digital humans, machine learning, robotics, and story technology.

For example, one study assessed the feasibility of storytelling between robot and child (Sun, Leite, Lehman, & Li, 2017). The following excerpts come from the abstract of the study:

Joint storytelling is a common parent-child activity. However, most storytelling robots offer rigid interaction with children and do not contribute to children's stories. In this study, we envision a robot that collaborates with a child to create oral stories in a highly interactive manner. We performed a feasibility study, which involved 78 children between 4 and 10 years old, to compare two collaboration strategies: (1) inserting new story content and relating it to the existing story and (2) inserting content without relating it to the existing story. The story was the "Wizard of Oz." We observed that although the first strategy creates heavier cognitive load, it was as enjoyable as the second. We also observed some indications that the first strategy may mitigate the difficulties in story creation for young children under the age of 7 and encourage children to speak more.

Box 9.5 By the Numbers

Video Game Data

A 2019 WePC article cited the following statistics:

- 27.5% of video games sold in the U.S. in 2016 were shooter games.
- The video games market is expected to be worth over $90 billion by 2020.
- *Overwatch* is the most talked about game in 2016 with 75,000 online articles mentioning the game.
- *Super Mario Odyssey* and *The Legend of Zelda: Breath of the Wild* were recognized as the best games of 2017.
- The *Legend of Zelda: Ocarina of Time* is considered the best game so far.
- 52% of core PC gamers in China are playing *PUBG*.
- 29% of core PC gamers in France are playing *Fortnite*.
- Texas hold 'em poker has the most fans as of March 2018 with a count of 65.35 million players.
- *Call of Duty: World at War*, *Modern Warfare 2*, *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare*, and *Call of Duty: Black Ops* have a total fan count of 24.37 million as of March 2018.

To more fully tell the story of what leisure has become, we will now extend the discussion of the technologies that have affected our lives from the previous section of the chapter to specific leisure examples. That is, what are some of the uses of social media, GPS/A-GPS, VR, AR, AI, streaming media, and mobile apps that illustrate changes in leisure interests and expressions.

We begin with one unique application, the merging of social media and gaming (Figure 9.8). Not too long ago, social media and the video game industry remained largely separate; however, the line between those two popular industries seems to be getting more blurred by the day. As the IoT (Internet of Things) evolves, the gaming industry evolves. Given that such a high percentage of the population has a Facebook, Twitter, Pinterest, or G+ account, it makes sense that the gaming companies would market and place their games on these platforms (Digital Information World, 2019).



Figure 9.8. The evolution of games spans about 2,161 years, with computer-based games (video games to AR games) occupying only the last 2% of this time.

A social network game is a type of online game that is played through social contacts. The games that players enjoy today are multiplayer attractions where the Internet connects players from all over the world. Because of the immersive element of this, players are more likely to share details of their game achievements and challenges.

Overall, video and social network games are among the most popular electronic games played in the world and the markets are growing! There are more than 2.5 billion video gamers from all over the world (Wijman, 2019). And 80% of the total video game industry's $36 billion

revenue in 2017 belongs to software sales (Entertainment Software Association, 2018). See Box 9.5 for more statistics.

As for GPS/A-GPS, there are many illustrations of its use for leisure. Foremost, GPS/A-GPS has eliminated some of the hazards associated with typical recreation activities by providing a capacity to determine a precise location. As well, GPS/A-GPS has broadened the scope of outdoor activities by simplifying some of the traditional problems, such as being able to stay on the correct trail or returning to the best fishing spot.

An example of one of the most popular websites for cyclers in 2019 (according to Arthurs-Brennan, 2019) is Strava, an activity sharing website. Strava allows users to track and upload their rides (and runs) using GPS/A-GPS data, either from the Strava dedicated app on a smartphone or via a third-party GPS bike computer, such as those from Garmin. The Strava service also allows millions of cyclists to connect with each other with the ability to comment on others' rides.

Golfers use laser rangefinders and handheld GPS devices to measure precise distances within the course and improve their game. Handheld GPS devices are far more expensive than the associated apps for a smartphone device. According to Golf Influence (2019), GolfShot is one of the most popular GPS/A-GPS apps for both iOS and Android devices.

Other applications for GPS/A-GPS include downhill skiing, cross-country running, and boating. GPS/A-GPS technology has also generated new sports and outdoor pastimes. One example is geocaching, a kind of treasure hunt. An estimated 15 million geocachers in the world hunt for over 83 million caches (Carly, 2018), using navigational techniques through GPS to hide and seek containers.

Probably the most popular treasure hunt using GPS is *Pokémon Go*, a location-based, reality game developed by Niantic for smartphone mobile devices. It was initially released in selected countries in July 2016. Using the mobile device's GPS/A-GPS system, players locate, capture, battle, and train virtual creatures (the Pokémon) who appear on the screen as if they were in the same real-world location as the player. When the game was released, it had mixed reviews of both praise for the game's concept of being active in the real world and concerns for its contribution to accidents and becoming a public nuisance. To see recent statistics for the *Pokémon Go*, see Box 9.6.

Box 9.6 By the Numbers

Pokémon Go

Since its launch in 2016, *Pokémon Go* has produced significant revenue and usage statistics as well as reports to substantiate original concerns regarding accidents and becoming a public nuisance. The article "Pokémon Go Revenue and Usage Statistics" (Iqbal, 2019a) cites these statistics:

- *Pokémon Go* accounted for 45% of gameplay time among the top-20 Android games in its first three months of release.
- *Pokémon Go* downloads crossed the 1 billion threshold in September 2018.
- *Pokémon Go* dominates the location-based category of game, claiming an 84% market share in terms of downloads and a 92% share in terms of revenue (as of December 2018).
- Social features were launched in June 2018; by September of that year, 113 million connections had been made, with 2.2 billion gifts sent between friends.
- In the first month of release, 290 UK crimes were attributed to *Pokémon Go*.
- A study from Purdue University found that two deaths, 31 injuries, and $500,000 in vehicle damage could be blamed on the game in a single county in Indiana.
- As of September 2018, total *Pokémon Go* revenue came to over $2 billion; as of March 2019, this figure had climbed to $2.45 billion.



Playing Pokémon Go while driving has led to multiple governments passing laws against it.

Now, we will continue on to VR applications in leisure (Figure 9.9). The aim of VR (sometimes called immersive reality) is to create a sensory experience for the user including sight, touch, hearing, smell, and even taste. Examples of VR in leisure include more smells while gaming, more "immersion" in horror films, and yes, VR pornography. To experience VR, users need a device to help them immerse in the virtual environment. It is a wraparound headset that does not allow light or images from the real world to interfere with the virtual one. The installed base of VR headsets was estimated at around 7 million in 2016 and is forecasted to grow to 37 million by 2020 (Liu, 2018). The best-selling VR device in 2017 was the Sony PS VR. Other good sellers in 2017 included the Oculus Rift, HTC Vive, and Windows Mixed Reality (Liu, 2018).

During 2016, there was a huge rush to add VR in amusement park attractions. Universal Studios Japan and Britain's Alton Towers added VR to roller coasters at their theme parks; Six Flags announced later that year that it would add VR to nine of its roller coasters; SeaWorld, Busch Gardens, Cedar Point, and Legoland introduced VR on rides; and Disney World has incorporated VR in a number of its attractions since 2016. One of the big reasons why so many parks jumped on VR was because developing it and adding it to an existing attraction was a lot cheaper than building new rides.



Figure 9.9. VR tools are becoming more available for personal use.

In the few short years since, however, things have changed. As quickly as the VR craze took off in amusement parks, it crashed just as rapidly. As an example, shortly after Six Flags added VR to nine of its roller coasters, it slowly and quietly started to remove VR from those coasters. The reason was the overhead. VR headsets resulted in slow ride-load times, with people putting on and adjusting their headsets, and extra staff were needed to collect, clean, and distribute the headsets.

VR media probably will never go away from theme parks. However, the future goal will be to use it as one of the many tools in creating environments rather than something that feels like a moving version of what we watch at home. Referring to Disney attractions Pandora: The World of Avatar and Star Wars: Galaxy's Edge at a media meeting, Disney CEO Bob Iger claimed, "We are not trying to fake immersion, we are trying to make it as real as possible with as much scale as possible" (Niles, 2019, para. 4)

AR overlays the real world with the digital world, rather than replacing it in the way VR does. Seemingly, the theme parks may be moving more to the use of AR or a mix of AR and VR, as evidenced by the following:

- Universal Studios filed for four patents to help them integrate VR and AR into rides and experiences at the resort (Mander, 2018).
- Disney filed for patents for use of roaming robots and AR in its theme parks to provide interactive guidance to guests (Ralph, 2017).
- Disney filed for a patent to bring AR to ESPN Wide World of Sports and live events. The AR device would be in the form of glasses and allow spectators to see additional information displayed on the live scene in front of them (Sterling, 2019).

Also pervasive in leisure is streaming media—music and film on demand, anytime, on any device. One application for streaming media is The Digital Concert Hall. This active website offers live concerts of the Berlin Philharmonic on a computer, television, tablet, or smartphone. Similarly, the Metropolitan Opera streams live broadcasts from New York City to movie theatres in towns everywhere, as well as offers live streaming videos on their website.

Finally, while we have already mentioned applications of mobile apps elsewhere, we will offer a note of example to finish this discussion—recreational travel. There are multitudes of examples of travel apps in the categories of trip planning, trip organization, packing, booking hotels, maps, event guides, currency exchange, and restaurant recommendations. To illustrate, we will offer some of the best apps for recreational travel for 2019. All are available on both iOS and Android devices (Marcus, 2019):

- *Kayak:* Allows you to search for flights, hotels, and car rentals.
- *PackPoint:* Will tell you what to bring.
- *HotelTonight:* For last-minute arrangements or as a backup plan in case your reservations do not work out.
- *Citymapper:* How to use the local transportation systems.
- *XE Currency:* A simple converter allows you to easily determine exchange rates.
- *Guides by Lonely Planet:* These thorough guides are like having a tour leader in your pocket.
- *Zomato:* Food, trending restaurants, and nightlife recommendations.
- *iTranslate:* Use this app to type or speak your sentence, and immediately get the translation in your chosen language.

The Future of Leisure and Technology

Some futurists have recently declared that we are now on the brink of yet another technological era—moving from the digital phase to the "digital transformation or integration" phase (review Table 9.1). To illustrate this transformation, we will look at some of the top digital trends that soon may affect our everyday lives (Newman, 2019):

- *5G phones, 5G networks:* The faster broadband speeds and more reliable mobile networks of 5G will affect advancements in smart city, smart vehicle, smart manufacturing, and IoT (Internet of Things).
- *WiFi 6:* WiFi 6 and 5G are completely different technologies, both will be bringing us much faster processing and wireless connection speeds in 2020. 5G and WiFi 6 working in concert will perfect ultra-fast connectivity for home and office.
- *The merged power of AI, machine learning, and data analytics*: Speed and scale speak to the advantage of automating the analysis of massive data sets. Thanks to AI and machine learning, complex data sets will be analyzed in a fraction of the time it used to take just two years ago with very intuitive tools.
- *Blockchain moves beyond cryptocurrencies*: To date, blockchain is a technology that underpins digital currency (e.g., Bitcoins). Some people refer to it as a "digital ledger" stored in a network. Blockchain technology is starting to be used beyond payments and cryptocurrencies. Futuristically, blockchain technology will be used in food safety, intellectual property and royalties, and real-estate/asset management, for instance.
- *Conversational AI*: You may have noticed, when using Siri it is difficult to use voice-to-text to craft a decent message. In the near future, we will see new forms of conversational AI. Projects such as Microsoft Conversational AI will provide platforms that cannot just hear correctly but also follow complex conversations and understand the nuances of emotion.
- *Edge computing*: Defined, edge computing "enables connected devices to process data closer to where it is created — or the edge. This can be either within the device itself (i.e. sensors), or close to the device, and provides an alternative to sending data to a centralized cloud for processing. Some of the biggest players in tech — including Amazon, Microsoft, and Google — are exploring edge computing, potentially giving rise to the next big computing race" (CB Insights, 2018, What Is Edge Computing? section, para. 1).
- *Connected vehicles, autonomous drones, and smart cities*: The combination of edge computing and 5G will bring us significantly closer to truly autonomous cars, drones, and smart cities.

Companies such as Intel/Nvidia/Qualcomm and BMW/Volvo/Ford are partnering up while Uber is building an autonomous fleet and Amazon is looking to ship your every need to your door via an autonomous drone.

The speed of current and future technological breakthroughs has no historical precedent—changing every aspect of life. From the transformations listed, we can count on near-term changes in our immediate living and working spaces. Essentially, they are becoming smarter. For example, in terms of utilities, devices such as tado° adjust air-conditioning or heating based on how close we are to returning home (Desjardins, 2019). Smart home inventions such as Awair monitor and analyze our home's air quality while detecting harmful allergens and irritants in real time (Desjardins, 2019). On the entertainment front, a variety of companies are working to bring AI and robotics to the home. In the future, the smart home is expected to grow even more autonomous. Emerging technology trends will provide the smart home with voice control, homeowner data sharing, appliance connectivity, AI integration, sophisticated security systems, and smart kitchen devices.

Our technological future will change everything—our sense of privacy; our ideas of ownership; our consumption patterns; how we develop our careers, meet people, and nurture relationships. It will also affect the time we devote to work and leisure, as well as the very nature of it. Like all revolutions, this coming one could result in consequences that are both good and bad for our lives. Some see a future as one where technology improves the quality of life for everyone, while others envision one where technological advancement yields greater inequalities—those who keep up with innovation will thrive, while others are disillusioned and fearful.

What might some of the negative consequences be for leisure? One possibility is that what used to be outdoor playtime for children is already increasingly being replaced by sedentary device-based gaming time. This sedentary device-based gaming time is certainly a contributor to the increasing obesity and related health issues in children (Figure 9.10). However, "exergaming" can raise children's activity levels to help them lose weight, lower their blood pressure, and lower their cholesterol (Louisiana State University, 2018).

The issue of goodness with technological leisure is not so simple as definitively good or bad, of course. The situation is more of a complex dilemma. To highlight the future for leisure, we will conclude the chapter by discussing the pros and cons of specific consequences of technology: the cyberhood and addictions.

Box 9.7 What Do You Say?

Grandma Has a New Dog



Meet Jennie, a robotic dog that provides companionship to those who are unable to care for a pet. She is a Golden Labrador Retriever puppy that was created to help therapy patients, seniors, people diagnosed with dementia, and animal lovers whose circumstances do not allow for a real pet. Its creator, Tom Stevens, was motivated to create Jennie when his mom was diagnosed with Alzheimer's and had to give up her dog. Jennie provides unconditional love and emotional support—as long as her batteries stay charged! Jennie and other robot dogs are expected to be available for purchase in May 2020.

To see Jennie wag her tail, bark, and respond to touch, check out https://www.kickstarter.com/projects/tombot/tombot-affordable-robotic-companion-animals-for-se.

1. Perhaps the most profound questions about this is whether robotic dogs can help forestall some of the possible effects of aging, including dementia and isolation. What do you think?
2. Do you believe that having a robotic dog will do as much for the frail elderly as having a real dog? Might the robotic dog be more helpful than the real one? Why or why not?

Box 9.8 What Do You Say?

AI and VR in the Future Hotel

In the future, VR and AI may be used to take care of hotel guests in an unprecedented manner. A hotel of the future was on display at Madrid's Fitur tourism fair in 2018. In the prototype hotel, there were no receptionists; customers were checked in via a mirror equipped with facial recognition. Once the guest was identified, the assigned room adjusted itself to satisfy requests made at the time of the reservation, such as the desired temperature setting and type of art on the walls in digital frames. The door lock opened and closed via an app on the guest's phone. The mattress in the prototype hotel was equipped with sensors and recorded the movements of those sleeping, which could prompt hotel staff to offer them a coffee at the time they awaken in the morning. Generally, by using AI, the hotel of the future will be able to get better knowledge of their guests. Once personal data is provided on the reservation, through what is called "beacon" technology (restricted in some countries) that detects the guest's smartphone, the hotel will know when guests go to the pool, as well as whether or not they are with their spouses!

1. OK, now. What do you think? Would you like to stay in this hotel? What might be some of the positive highlights for you?
2. As well, do you see any negative features of this future hotel that you would not appreciate? What are they?
3. If you were a hotel owner, would you accept this technology? Why or why not?

Source: France-Presse, 2018

Virtual communities, or online communities, are an important location for leisure activity. In the **cyberhood**, we can make connections based on leisure interests and lifestyles. Commonly, people in these communities relate to each other via social networking sites, chat rooms, forums, as well as video games and blogs.

Cyberhood: Virtual neighborhoods formed on the Internet

These are sensation-based places, rather than physical locations for leisure. Participants have claimed that cyberhoods renew a lost sense of community and at the same time empower individuals. Specifically, these virtual worlds are similar to third places. (See Chapter 7 to review this concept.) That is, the cyberhood provides spaces for social interaction and relationships beyond the home and workplace. And, like the neighborhood bar, these social relationships, while not usually providing deep emotional support, typically function as sources of informal sociability.



Figure 9.10. Scientists (and parents) have asked questions about the pros and cons of video gaming for a long time. For example, can overuse lead to some negative health risks such as discomforts with the neck, hand, wrist or forearm; photosensitive epilepsy; obesity; aggressive behavior; lack of vitamin D; sleep deprivation; and attention problems? (Kennard, 2018)

Although cyberhoods can promote an array of positive qualities, such as relationships without regard to race, religion, gender, or geography, they can also lead to multiple problems. These can include financial, safety, social, and psychological loss (Figure 9.11). For example, one specific problem is identity formation with the ambiguous real–virtual life mix. This may be because we have just one identity in the real world, but online

communities allow us to create as many different "electronic" personae as we please. This can lead to identity deceptions—claiming to be someone you are not. As well, anonymity in the cyberhood increases unethical behavior and susceptibility to being victimized.



Figure 9.11. The cyberhood is a virtual neighborhood. Is it a good one?

Box 9.9
Web Explore

Being Alone in Social Media

Many questions have been raised about the role of social media in our lives. Watch this TED talk for one perspective on the matter:

https://www.ted.com/talks/sherry_turkle_alone_together?language=en

Also review
https://www.npr.org/sections/health-shots/2017/03/06/518362255/feeling-lonely-too-much-time-on-social-media-may-be-why

According to Barlow (2004), as a neighborhood, the cyberhood is missing a lot. To his thinking, foremost missing is "prana." *Prana* is the Hindu term for both breath and spirit. Barlow uses the term to mean that even though the cyberhood offers connection, it does not offer experience. When we are chatting online, for example, we cannot really sense the others—their smell, tone of voice, the breeze from their bodies—the qualities that Barlow claims make an experience. There is something else missing in the cyberhood, claims Barlow—diversity. Those with lower incomes, less education, and who are over the age of 75 often find themselves on the other side of the digital divide. Bryce (2001) argued that the freedom of choice quality of leisure is missing in the cyberhood, as it is limited by the ability of the user to acquire and maintain the technology—a privileged position of access.

Another dilemma for consideration about the future of technology and leisure is addiction. This is a slippery topic, with many scholars trying to tease out what leisure addiction is or is not. Studies have suggested there is, for example, shopping addiction (Illinois Institute for Addiction Recovery, n.d.), exercise addiction (Landolfi, 2013), TV addiction (Kubey & Csikszentmihalyi, 2004), and gambling addiction (Welte, Barnes, Tidwell, Hoffman, & Wieczorek, 2015). How is leisure addiction defined, then?

According to Goodman (1990), in addiction there is a physical and psychological dependence on something. In terms of an addiction to a leisure activity, this means the addict feels that life is horribly dull when the activity is removed from his or her life and is physically affected by this loss. However, within the concept of serious leisure (see Chapter 2), Stebbins (2010) considers the application of addiction to leisure activities to reflect a positive dependence rather than a negative one. What, then, is the difference between leisure addiction and serious leisure? Is it possible that serious leisure may become addictive? Could a dependency on an activity result in positive leisure benefits such as self-development, feelings of accomplishment, enhancement of self-image, enhanced social interaction, and a sense of belongingness?

As applied to technological leisure, there are also "emerging addictions" associated with mental health disorders. For example, in 2019 the World Health Organization (WHO) officially designated "gaming disorder" as a mental health disorder. It defined gaming disorder as a disease (Moritz-Rabson, 2019). More broadly labeled internet addiction disorder, or IAD, the problem is generally considered to be the compulsive and prolonged use of the Internet to the point of disfunction in various life domains ("Internet Addiction Disorder," n.d.).

The game *Fortnite*'s battle royale mode, which exploded in popularity in 2017, is considered so addicting for some players that for parents, their kids' experience with the game requires similar treatment as drug addiction. According to Feeley and Palmeri (2018), there has been a significant increase in parents taking their children to therapy to deal with their *Fortnite* obsessions. Some children are going to special camps where they can "detox" from technology and develop a more well-rounded lifestyle.

What causes gaming or Internet disorder? Some studies suggest that people who suffer from IAD have a brain makeup similar to those who suffer from a chemical dependency, such as drugs or alcohol. Some studies link IAD to physical changes in the brain structure, specifically changes in the amount of gray and white matter in regions of the prefrontal brain. This area of the brain is associated with remembering details, attention, planning, and prioritizing tasks (Gregory, 2019).

What about smartphone addiction? Sometimes known as nomophobia (fear of being without a mobile phone), addiction to a smartphone is often fueled by an Internet overuse problem or IAD. We have heard people say they are addicted to their phones, but is this truly an addiction? Smartphone addiction has been widely researched in recent years, and the effects of various demographic, personality-linked, psychological, and emotional variables have been found. In 2018, there were 3 billion smartphone users worldwide (Takahashi, 2018). Here are some of the compelling statistics about the problems, as compiled from multiple sources by Deyan (2019):

- 66% of the smartphone users show signs of nomophobia.
- The average smartphone owner unlocks their phone 150 times a day.
- Users spend on average 2 hours and 51 minutes a day on their smartphone.
- 58% of smartphone users do not go 1 hour without checking their phone.
- More than half of smartphone owners never switch off their phone.
- 71% usually sleep with or next to their mobile phone.
- 80% of smartphone users check their phone within 1 hour of waking.
- 75% of users admit that they have texted at least once while driving.

Box 9.10 In Your Own Experience

Are You Addicted to Your Smartphone?

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

1. The first thing I reach for after waking in the morning is my phone.
2. I would turn around and go back home on the way to work or school if I left my phone at home.
3. I often use my phone when I am bored.
4. I become agitated or irritable when my phone is out of sight.
5. I have gone into a panic when I thought I had lost my phone.
6. I have argued with my spouse, friends, or family about my phone use.
7. I use my phone while driving my car.
8. I need to reduce my cellphone use, but I am afraid I cannot do it.

If you agreed with 7 or 8 of the statements, you need an immediate intervention.

If you agreed with 5 or 6 of the statements, you need to be on guard.

If you agreed with 4 or fewer of the statements, you probably are not into technology much at all.

Source: Yahoo Tech, 2015

To conclude this discussion of the future, it would be useful to be reminded that neither technology nor the changes that come with it are inexorable forces over which people have no control. There has never been a time of greater promise, or one of greater potential peril (Schwab, 2016). In terms of leisure, futurists are predicting some pretty fantastical things—how do we want to wisely incorporate them into our lives?

What We Understand About Leisure and Technology

The use of technology in leisure is as old as leisure itself, yet the current revolution of information technologies has assisted, invented, and changed contemporary leisure in significant ways. From studying this chapter, you should know the following:

- Beginning over 5,000 years ago, technological innovations have reflected humankind's efforts to control their environment for their own benefit, including their leisure benefit.
  Explain how this has been so for a leisure expression you enjoy.
- Chiefly, IT has made us prosumers, professional knowledge workers who produce and consume media.
  What is a prosumer? Are you one? Why or why not?
- Examples of the impact of technology on leisure include social network games, GPS/A-GPS games, VR entertainment, AR entertainment, streaming media entertainment, as well as travel mobile apps.
  Give an example from your own leisure interests for each of these.
- The future holds both promise and challenge. Dilemmas such as the quality of the cyberhood, deepfake, Internet and smartphone addiction, and other issues will have to be addressed.
  Select one of these dilemmas and discuss its pros and cons.

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CHAPTER 10
Taboo Recreation

Is leisure always wholesome?

No. Even though leisure is vitally important to the positive well-being of individuals and societies, it can also produce harmful outcomes.

When is leisure harmful?

If leisure is a condition of personal attitudes, preferences, and values, labeling certain leisure pursuits as harmful is useless. On the other hand, if leisure is a matter of making good choices, then labeling certain pastimes as unworthy, and perhaps taboo, is possible.

What is taboo recreation?

Pastimes that are forbidden by law, custom, or belief are taboo. Examples are vandalism, gambling, risky health behaviors, and violence in sport.

Why does taboo recreation happen?

There are many explanations. The theories we explore in this chapter are anomie, differential association, and retreatism.



Leisure is, in simple fact, one of the most positive and wholesome aspects of contemporary life. Leisure can relieve tensions, maintain physical fitness, enhance mental equilibrium, help us return to health when ill or injured, improve a career, unite communities, strengthen personal relationships, yield a productive workforce, and contribute to a society's economy. However, leisure also has a dark side. Leisure can also cause conflict, injure us physically and mentally, reduce workforce productivity, and take a financial toll when we have to pay for solutions to problems it creates.

The focus of this chapter will be the adverse outcomes of engaging in pastimes that society considers deviant. We will begin with a general discussion of the basic meanings and characteristics of leisure and deviance and then suggest several examples: vandalism, gambling, risky health behaviors, and violence in sport. We will conclude with some explanations for deviance in leisure.

Deviance in Leisure

Some pastimes are labeled as taboo recreation. Why? Is cage fighting taboo recreation? Is ultra-marathon running taboo recreation? Both can cause serious injury, even death, but are they both examples of deviance in leisure? What about going shopping? Some consider the U.S. shopping phenomenon known as Black Friday to fall under the deviant leisure rubric. Why? The distinction lies in society's perspective.

For example, in the U.S., certain forms of gambling are legal and allowed in certain locations, while others are not. Buying sexual pleasure is considered a problem in several countries, but not in others. Vandalism can be a lot of fun for participants, but it costs property owners billions of dollars each year. Binge drinking is increasingly popular for college students, but campus administrators spend significant amounts of energy trying to curb it. Thus, in all groups of people, there are strong social prohibitions against certain actions, but the same taboos are not universal.

As well, what is considered taboo changes within the same group. For example, since the 1970s, body tattoos have become a mainstream part of American adult fashion, common among both sexes and to all economic classes. The meaning of the tattoo shifted from a form of deviance to an acceptable form of self-expression (Roberts, 2012). In the other direction, in the U.S., smoking in public recreation venues (e.g., bars) used to be acceptable behavior lauded even in popular culture. Today, it is considered taboo (and against the law in many places).

Therefore, pursuits such as gambling, buying sexual pleasure, vandalism, and binge drinking are considered taboo only when the values and beliefs of a society deem them so. All societies have such prohibitions on behavior. The word **taboo** comes from the Polynesian word *tapu*, which usually refers to a prohibition of supernatural force. We use the term here to signify behaviors restricted by social custom or belief, which often become prohibited by laws.

Taboo: Restriction of a behavior based on social tradition

Box 10.1 Web Explore

Marijuana

Marijuana is the most often used illegal drug in the U.S. But some states are legalizing it for both medical and recreational use. What about your state? Search the Internet for the most up-to-date information about the legality of marijuana where you live. Why was it legalized? Or why has it not been legalized? How does the use of marijuana for recreation reflect the idea that what is taboo can change within the same group, as well as the idea that a taboo is not necessarily universal?

Another way of describing the taboo nature of some leisure pursuits is through the concepts of ideational and sensate mentality. For example, **ideational mentality** suggests that laws and beliefs against activities such as substance use and gambling are primarily morally derived (Heise, 1988). That is, people have an "idea" that something is bad. Even though they do not wish to participate in it, they feel the need to prohibit others from being involved, because they believe such a restriction is for the public good. Another way of putting this is ideational mentality claims reality is spiritual (Sorokin, 1985).

Ideational mentality: Something is bad based on our own ideas

A **sensate mentality**, on the other hand, is an explanation that focuses on the more tangible and physical aspects of laws, such as antisocial acts of crimes with victims (Heise, 1988). Accordingly, when we consider substance use and gambling as deviant leisure, it is because our own experiences tell us that they are harmful. That is, for a sensate mentality, reality is material (Sorokin, 1985).

Sensate mentality: Something is bad based on our own experience

Ultimately, the root concept of taboo recreation is deviance—any behavior that violates the norms of a group. In some cases, the norms of the group are codified into laws. For example, in many cultures, robbery, theft, rape, murder, and assault are considered acts of deviance that are against the law. This is referred to as **formal deviance**. In other cases, the norms of the group do not have legal authority over people's behavior; here the deviant behaviors and consequences are more casual, such as in **informal deviance**. Picking your nose or belching loudly might be examples of informal deviance.

Formal deviance: behavior that violates formal cultural norms, such as laws

Informal deviance: Behavior that violates informal cultural customs

The incidence of both formal and informal deviance in leisure is documented not only in police records and social work files but also in research. For example, in one study (Agnew, 1990), a sample of teens indicated the reasons for their participation in 14 illegal activities. These included pleasure, thrill seeking, social pressure, and boredom—all qualities associated with leisure. Further, Aguilar (1987) provided rationale for considering deviant behavior a game: "In vandalism activities, the object of the game is to complete the task without getting caught" (p. 5). And in a study by Liebregts, van der Pol, van Laar, de Graaf, van den Brink, and Korf (2015), it was concluded that frequent use of cannabis by young adults mostly occurred during leisure time, for enhancing other leisure activities (e.g., socializing and video gaming).

The connection between deviance and leisure extends in some studies to the idea of *playful deviance*. As typically applied to the behaviors of attendees of Mardi Gras in New Orleans and college students on a spring break trip to Miami Beach, playful deviance is defined as unseemly ways of performing for others (Rojek, 2000). Usually including raucous dancing, drinking alcoholic beverages, and public nudity, playful deviance is considered fun because it is concentrated in leisure spaces that are structured for such (a warm beach and Bourbon Street) and in front of others who encourage it. In addition to playful deviance, other forms of taboo recreation include invasive leisure (self-loathing, e.g., solvent abuse), mephitic leisure (self-absorbed desire for gratification at the expense of others, e.g., serial killing), and wild leisure (e.g., rioting and looting; Rojek, 2000).

Further, the concept of *prole leisure* also helps to flesh out our understanding of deviance in leisure. Rather than being considered deviant per se, prole leisure is a label for those pastimes typical of the "proletariat," or working classes of people. Prole leisure expressions include motorcycling, professional wrestling, demolition derbies, bar hopping, roller derby, street racing, paintball, mudding, and cage fighting. While some might argue leisure in modern society is becoming more prole and thus more debased, the idea that leisure expression is better or worse according to its attachment to social class makes this concept appear elitist (Figure 10.1).



Figure 10.1. Mudding, or mud racing, is an off-road motorsport popular worldwide. The goal is to drive a vehicle through a pit of mud. Winners are determined by the distance traveled through the pit. Mudding has grown from a backyard pastime to events that host upward of 40,000 spectators.

Yet, even with all these clarifications, what is deviant in leisure is still ambiguous. Going for a jog builds fitness levels, but so might hooking hubcaps. Joining a Scout troop provides outlets for socialization and improved self-esteem, but so could hanging out with a street gang. In truth, everyone is involved at least occasionally in deviant leisure behavior. We have all run on the swimming pool deck in spite of signs instructing us not to. This is because the rules governing social life are inherently equivocal and thus open to different interpretations: Why is running on a swimming pool deck bad and running at the beach not? Indeed, deviant leisure is nothing but the activity that exploits this ambivalence (Rojek, 1999). Can we conclude, then, that leisure is only leisure when it is healthy, moral, optimistically productive, and legal, or is leisure more an honest personal expression that should be free of societal norms? This question is at the crux of the dilemma. We will discuss both sides.

Aristotle wrote in *Politics* that the cultivated ability to use leisure properly is the basis of a person's and a society's worth. Making good and healthy free-time choices is leisure, not simply doing anything one pleases. Aristotle's leisure is a matter of social responsibility—making the right choices among life's many alternatives and also doing them well (Sylvester, 1991). Thus, according to this perspective, deviant actions and events that are harmful and destructive are not leisure at all.

This is the side of the argument that serves as the premise of professionals who work in leisure service agencies. Helping people achieve responsible free-time choices is why the YMCA, Girl Scouts, municipal parks and recreation departments, camps, and other organizations exist. Professionals in leisure services consider leisure to be a force of good that allows us the space and time to develop our healthy selves.

Contrary to this, an alternative view maintains leisure is derived from personal feelings. Thus, leisure is in the heart and mind of the individual and has nothing to do with outside factors, such as what

other people think. In this perspective, leisure is considered a private choice based on intrinsically motivated freedom and is thus not a matter of morality. We will continue this debate by exploring examples.

Box 10.2 What Do You Say?

Dark Tourism

Traveling to meet the dead. Dark tourism has long been of interest, beginning in ancient Roman times with state-sanctioned death and killing provided for spectators at gladiatorial games. Today, in Western societies, tourists now thrill in visiting commoditized sites of death, including Auschwitz-Birkenau in Poland, Ground Zero in New York City, the Anne Frank House in Amsterdam, and the Killing Fields of Cambodia.

A few years ago, the fatal car crash involving Diana, Princess of Wales, prompted a pilgrimage of thousands to the Parisian underpass where it happened. Over 200,000 tourists annually visit Sedlec Ossuary (a small Roman Catholic chapel) in the Czech Republic. They come to see the interior, which is decorated with the skeletons of some 40,000 plague victims, including a chandelier made from almost every bone in the human body.

Indeed, dark tourism is becoming even more popular, and therefore, an increasing number of critical spotlights are being shone on its moral and ethical meanings (Stone & Sharpley, 2013). Is dark tourism gruesome and should it thus be abolished? Does dark tourism serve as therapy to expel our own feelings of guilt? Or are "grief tourists" seeking a common identity with humanity? Is death a taboo topic?

1. Have you experienced dark tourism? Where did you visit and what were your feelings about the visit?
2. What is your interpretation about the meaning of dark tourism? Is it immoral, disrespectful, or in bad taste? Or something else?
3. Talking about death and presenting the dead in public places was once a time-honored taboo. Is it still?

Examples of Taboo Recreation

Indeed, as pointed out by Rojek (1999), "an obvious and indisputable fact about leisure in modern society is that many of the most popular activities are illegal" (p. 82). Although there are hordes of examples of this, vandalism, gambling, risky health behaviors, and sport violence offer a breadth of taboo leisure activity illustrations. Sometimes, these activities cause no harm at all; sometimes, they are harmful to only those who participate; and sometimes, such taboo pastimes are harmful to others who do not participate and to society as a whole.

Vandalism

Defined as damaging or defacing private or public property, vandalism takes many forms: covering walls with graffiti, breaking streetlights, salting lawns, putting glue into locks, knocking over grave markers, egg throwing, tire slashing, draping toilet paper in trees, keying, tearing out pages of library books, throwing shoes over power lines, and even creating crop circles. In many societies, vandalism is considered one of the least serious crimes, but in Singapore, a person who commits an act of vandalism may be liable for a fine, a term in prison, and a corporal punishment of between three and eight strokes of the cane.

Regardless of legal sanctions, vandalism is usually expensive to correct, and for many private property owners and community public agencies, the cost is rising each year. Indeed, in the U.S., vandalism costs more than $15 billion a year and estimates from a variety of cities suggest that graffiti cleanup

alone costs taxpayers the equivalent of $1 to $3 per citizen each year (U.S. Department of Justice, 1998). According to the National Crime Prevention Council (2008), some vandals work in groups and most vandals are young people who vandalize out of boredom, anger, revenge, defiance, and celebration and in association with peer pressure. These motives vary according to the category of vandalism.

For example, *slovenly vandalism* is an expression of bad manners and carelessness, such as littering. Although the least destructive, it is so pervasive that this form is the most expensive to solve. *No-other-way-to-do-it vandalism* results from actions such as sitting on a fence because there is not a bench or leaning a bicycle against a tree because there is no bike rack. In addition, *conflict vandalism* occurs from doing what is most logical and natural, regardless of the intent of the design of a facility, such as paths that result from people choosing the most direct route through an open space. *Malicious vandalism* usually results from people feeling mistreated and wanting to get back at society, or an agency or person, such as by defacing a park sign. For example, following a federal government shutdown in 2018/19, Joshua Tree National Park in California had to remain closed to clean and repair the damage from vandalism (including cutting down the Joshua trees!). Were these vandals showing anger at the federal government? *Cybervandalism* is vandalism on the Internet—the most common of which is website defacement. The primary motivation seems to be the desire to prove that the feat can be accomplished. Once inside the website, people leave their mark so there is no denying their presence. Vandalism on maps on the Web has been called *cartographic vandalism* (Ballatore, 2014).

Some vandals have declared that for them vandalism is a form of leisure, and ironically, places of leisure, such as parks and playgrounds, suffer the most. Indeed, the most common forms of vandalism can be considered the most recreational. For example, *thrill vandalism* arises from the goading or daring of friends or from a desire for excitement, and *self-expression vandalism*, such as graffiti, is usually an attempt to be noticed. Indeed, self-expression vandalism is perhaps at the heart of the taboo dilemma. Is graffiti pop art, for example, or is it vandalism (Figure 10.2)?



Figure 10.2. Is this graffiti or outdoor pop art? © Qatar Culture Club, 2011.

Gambling

Next, we will consider gambling as an illustration of taboo recreation. Gambling is the wagering of money or something of material value on an event with an uncertain outcome, with the expectation of winning additional money or material goods. It is one of humankind's oldest activities, as evidenced by writings and equipment found in tombs in ancient China, Egypt, and Rome. For example, a version of keno, an ancient Chinese lottery game, is played today in casinos around the world, and organized sanctioned sport betting dates back to the late 18th century.

Gambling is a leisure activity that produces many positive and healthful outcomes. One benefit, of course, is winning. But why do people who rarely win, continue to play the gambling game? Take poker. Perhaps people keep playing because poker is a game that requires the use of several parts of the brain,

including short-term memory. It is also a social experience. While playing, you are also talking and joking around with the other players.

A study of nursing home residents (Dixon, Nastally, & Waterman, 2010) evaluated the effect of participation in simulated gambling activities on happiness. Happiness was measured during baseline, varying durations of engagement, and two follow-up periods. Results suggested that all residents studied had a higher percentage of happiness levels while engaged in the gambling activities, compared with baseline. However, in the two follow-up assessments (10 minutes and 30 minutes), no effects in happiness were observed.

How can gambling provide many of the qualities of leisure but also be harmful? Often throughout history, religious and civic laws sought to prohibit gambling. But in the 19th century, a gradual, albeit irregular, shift in the official attitude toward gambling began, from considering it a sin to considering it a human weakness, and finally, to seeing it as a mostly harmless entertaining activity. It is fun to spend money. And gambling is useful in making money for sponsors. Additionally, the Internet has made many forms of gambling accessible today on an unheard-of scale, and by the beginning of the 21st century, approximately 4 out of 5 people in Western societies had gambled at least occasionally (Glimne, n.d.).

Box 10.3 In Profile

Sports Betting in the U.S.

Sports betting is the activity of placing a wager on a sport event outcome. The popularity of sports betting varies by culture, with most bets placed at the amateur and professional levels for association football, American football, basketball, baseball, hockey, track cycling, auto racing, mixed martial arts, and boxing. Sports betting is also popular in nonathletic events, such as reality show contests, political elections, and animal contests, such as horse racing.

Sports betters place their wagers either legally through a bookmaker (sportsbook) or illegally through privately run agents. Many legal sportsbooks can be found online, operated over the Internet from jurisdictions far from their clients in areas where laws allow for it (e.g., Las Vegas, Nevada). In the U.S., for example, until 2018 is was highly illegal (under the Professional and Amateur Sports Protection Act of 1992) for states to authorize legal sports betting (except in Delaware, Montana, Oregon, and Nevada, which had preexisting sports lotteries).

But in May 2018, the Supreme Court struck down the federal ban on sports wagering and gave states permission to decide on the question of legality. As of this writing, 14 states have legal sports betting. While the idea of state-sanctioned sports betting worries some, it was, of course, already happening under the table. For example, before the ban was lifted, Americans bet an estimated $4.76 billion in February 2018 on the Super Bowl, with only 3% of that gambled legally (Hauf, 2018).

Now, there is even more money to be made by sport betting sponsors! In fact, the regulated sports betting market could potentially add $9.2 billion to the annual profits of casinos nationwide and contribute $14.2 billion to the U.S. gross domestic product (Hauf, 2018). Even the NFL (National Football League) is making plans to cash in on the new reality, including having fans in attendance at games use a phone app to place live bets on certain outcomes, such as if the team will score a field goal on this drive.

With the pastime of gambling, it is perhaps easiest to understand the application of the term *taboo*. Some gambling is legal—indeed, government sponsored. Other gambling events are illegal. The distinction is hazy. When many state, provincial, and national laws continue to prosecute people for engaging

in it, yet increasingly sponsor lotteries and receive tax receipts from casinos, racing tracks, and so on, there seems to be a contradiction.

In the U.S. today, gambling in some form is promoted in 48 states, employing over 1.7 million people, paying wages of $14 billion annually, and earning each year $240 billion in gross gaming revenue—contributing $7.59 billion in direct gaming taxes (Statista, 2016). Overall the most popular form of gambling is playing the lottery, with nearly half of Americans claiming to play at least once a year. Betting on horse racing is a leading form of gambling in English-speaking countries worldwide. As well, poker has exploded in popularity, principally through the high visibility of poker tournament broadcasts on television and the proliferation of Internet venues. Online betting accounts for about $41.4 billion in revenues each year (Statista, 2016). In the U.S., on-site casino gambling accounts for one third of all gambling (Statista, 2016), with slot machines accounting for between 65% and 80% of the casino action (Schwartz, 2018).

The demographic profile of casino visitors is similar to that of the general U.S. population in terms of income and level of education, except that men are more likely to have visited a casino than women and the average casino visitor is slightly older than the population in general. Also, casino visitors are more likely to be active in their free time—going to movies, concerts, sporting events, museums, and amusement parks more often than the general public.

Another word for gambling is *gaming*, and as a game, gambling rewards the player with the excitement of competition. Psychologists believe the real attraction of gambling lies in the thrill of uncertainty, the daring involved in taking chances, and the challenge of testing one's skill. For example, in a study examining gambling motives among college students (Neighbors, Lostutter, Cronce, & Larimer, 2002), primary reasons were to win money, for fun, for social reasons, for excitement, and just to have something to do. The term *machine zone* has been used to describe the state of immersion that slot machine users experience during play—there is a loss of a sense of time, space, body awareness, and amount of money spent (Schüll, 2014).



Figure 10.3. Las Vegas, Nevada, contains 165,000 slot machines. According to studies (cf. Collier, 2008), gambling addicts are more likely to play electronic gaming machines such as the slots. One reason for this is the immersive environment with an array of flashing lights and sounds. Studies suggest that these lights and sounds trigger urges to play longer and faster (Robinson, 2018).

Unfortunately, some people gamble despite a desire to stop. This is referred to as problem gambling and is what characterizes the activity as taboo. Problem gambling often is considered in terms of the harm experienced by the gambler as well as harm to others. For example, people with gambling problems tend to have lost significant amounts of money, need to bet more money more frequently, are restless or irritable when attempting to stop, use gambling as a way to escape and withdraw from family and jobs, are preoccupied with thoughts of gambling, and continue to gamble in spite of mounting negative consequences. "In extreme cases, problem gambling can result in financial ruin, legal problems, loss of career and family, or even suicide" (National Council on Problem Gambling, n.d., What Is Problem Gambling? section, para. 1).

Do some types of gambling have characteristics that may exacerbate gambling problems? While this is still poorly understood, anecdotal reports indicate that one risk factor may be a fast speed of play: the

faster the wager to response time with a game, the more likely players may be to develop problems with that particular game (Figure 10.3; National Council on Problem Gambling, n.d.).

Risky Health Behaviors

As you already know, leisure is an important factor in the achievement of good health. There is no dispute that when we participate in recreation activities, we can improve our physical health, as well as our intellectual, social, and emotional health. But what about recreation activity choices leading to illness, accidents, or even death? Risky health behaviors such as tobacco use, alcohol and drug misuse, unhealthy dietary behaviors, physical inactivity, and unprotected sex are a major source of preventable health problems. To illustrate this aspect of taboo recreation, we will discuss substance abuse, particularly binge drinking.

Box 10.4 By the Numbers

Top 6 Risky Health Behaviors by Teens

1. Abuse of opioid prescriptions
2. Tobacco use (including e-cigarettes)
3. Driving while texting
4. Bullying
5. Sexual activity without a condom
6. Physical inactivity

Source: Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2018a

Substances such as narcotics, alcohol, tobacco, and marijuana are a major part of leisure expression in many contemporary societies (Figure 10.4). Alcohol, for example, in modest amounts provides a means of relaxation from hectic pressures, offering both physical and psychological benefits. As well, drugs and alcohol are often used because they provide many leisure qualities. Cocktails are served at parties; beer is sold at baseball games; pills are popped at concerts. And some authorities have declared social drinking is second only to television watching as America's favorite pastime (Gross, 1983). Interestingly, a euphemism for the use of drugs is "taking a trip"—meaning to enjoy a change of pace, like we do when we go on vacation.



Figure 10.4. Vaping among America's teens continues to climb in popularity. Behind drinking alcohol, vaping was the second most common form of substance use, according to a study of eighth through 12th graders (Johnston et al., 2019). Vaping is the use of an electronic cigarette, hookah, or similar device to inhale vapors, which can contain nicotine, marijuana, or flavoring. The method is very efficient at delivering drugs rapidly into the brain.

However, alcohol, drugs, and other substances provide only short trips, and overuse to make the trip longer and more fun can lead to insurmountable personal and social problems. This is substance abuse, or **substance use disorder**—perhaps the most prevalent type of taboo recreation. Experience-altering drugs are in every region of the world, and every society has alcoholics. It began, in fact, with the invention of agriculture,

which was not only motivated by a need for a constant food supply but also by the discovery of the use of cultivated grains for beer (Lazare, 1989).

Substance use disorder: Overindulging in and depending on a drug, alcohol, or other chemical to the detriment of physical and mental health

How prevalent is substance use disorder? Witness the close to 2 million members in 170 countries of Alcoholics Anonymous (AA, 2016), an organization that helps people with alcohol-related problems. An estimated 271 million people worldwide use an illicit drug at least once a year (Degenhardt & Hall, 2012), which translates to 1 in 20 people aged 15 to 64 in the world. In the U.S., 28.6 million people aged 12 or older used an illicit drug in the past 30 days, which is about 1 in 10 Americans overall but ranges as high as 1 in 4 for young adults aged 18 to 25 (Center for Behavioral Health Statistics and Quality, 2015)

The relationship between dysfunctional substance use and leisure is reciprocal. Although substance use often begins as a leisure expression, if use increases to the point of harm, the individual's leisure becomes secondary to the substance. We will consider binge drinking as an illustration of this.

Who binges? According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (2018b), 1 in 6 U.S. adults binge drinks about four times a month, consuming about seven drinks per binge. Binge drinking is most common among younger adults aged 18 to 34 years. It is twice as common among men than women. The National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism (n.d.) defines binge drinking as a pattern of drinking that brings a person's blood alcohol concentration (BAC) to 0.08 g/dL or above. This typically happens when men consume five or more drinks and women consume four or more drinks in about 2 hours.

According to researchers who studied undergraduate students at a liberal arts college in the U.S. (Fowler, 2012), students who reported binge drinking reported being happier than their non–binge drinking peers. Specifically, the study showed that happiness in the case of binge drinking in college was directly related to status—with wealthy, White, male, heterosexual, and/or Greek-affiliated students being happier than "lower status" students. That is, for the lower status students, those who binge drink reported levels of social satisfaction comparable to the levels of their high-status counterparts. Binge drinking is therefore a symbolic proxy for higher social status in college (Fowler, 2012).

Box 10.5 The Study Says

Social Drinking on Social Media

Alcohol is often consumed in a social context. And a frequent and increasing social context is social media. How is alcohol displayed on the social networking sites of young people? A study investigated the social content of alcohol posts (i.e., the social context and presence of people) and social processes (i.e., the posting of and reactions to posts) involved with Facebook and/or Instagram (Hendricks, Van den Putte, Gebhardt, & Moreno, 2018). Study participants (N = 192, M_{age} = 20.6 years) gave researchers access to their profiles, and a content analysis of these profiles was conducted. Results demonstrated that alcohol-focused posts by youth frequently depicted alcohol in a positive social context (97%), displaying people holding drinks 67% of the time. Alcohol posts were also more often placed on participants' timelines by others than posted by participants themselves. Such social posts received more likes and comments than nonsocial posts (no people visible). The study concluded that alcohol posts on social media are a part of young people's everyday social lives.

On the other hand, while binge drinking college students are happier, they are also at greater risk of harm. This includes car accidents, falls, alcohol poisoning, sexual assault, sexually transmitted diseases, and chronic diseases such as high blood pressure, heart disease, and liver cancer (World Health

Organization, 2018). Drinking too much cost the U.S. $249 billion in 2010, or $2.05 a drink. These costs resulted from health care expenditures, workplace productivity losses, and criminal justice costs (Sacks, Gonzales, Bouchery, Tomedi, & Brewer, 2015). Furthermore, approximately 25% of college students report academic consequences.

Violence in Sport

Playing sports can bring peace, unity, and affection between players, countries, coaches, and teams. At its essence, sport can eliminate discrimination in race, gender, age, religion, and culture among people. Does sport always serve these objectives? No. Violence by supporters of sports teams dates back to ancient Rome, when chariot racing teams were frequently involved in major riots. Usually, underlying political issues fueled them. For example, in 532 AD, the rivalry between supporters of two chariot racing teams in Constantinople led to 30,000 deaths (Dahmus, 1968).

Sport violence can be described as aggressive behavior that causes harm, occurs outside the rules, and is unrelated to the competitive objectives of the game (Terry & Jackson, 1985, p. 2). In sport, in general two forms of aggression have been identified: instrumental and reactive. First, instrumental aggression is nonemotional and oriented toward the task required. For example, a rugby player uses force to tackle his or her opponent to win the ball back. In some sports, this is labeled sanctioned aggression—aggression within the written rules of the game.

Otherwise, **reactive aggression** has an underlying emotional component with harm as its goal. In tackling an opponent, the rugby player intentionally attempts to cause injury and harm. We consider violence in sport as a taboo recreation example as typically an outcome of reactive aggression. And, when you think about it, can you think of any other human endeavor that allows us to run the gamut of emotions between thrill and anger, joy and despair? Sports are the ultimate roller coaster ride of emotions.

Reactive aggression: An emotional response with harm as its goal; violence in sport can be an outcome



Figure 10.5. According to a Canadian study (Rockerbie, 2016), fans prefer ice hockey games without fights. But the study also concluded that fighting is a part of the fabric of the sport and it would take something drastic to change it.

Emanating from players, coaches, parents, fans, and the media, acts of reactive-aggression-motivated violence have increased in frequency and seriousness (Jewell, 2011). It is most prevalent in team contact sports, such as ice hockey, American football, basketball, and rugby, but can also be cited in sports such as NASCAR, water polo, and lacrosse. Yet, soccer, the world's favorite sport, comes in for most of the concern (Figure 10.5).

Why is there violence in sport? Some have argued that among U.S. fans, the most popular sport is football, explicitly because of the inherent violence in the game (Leahy, 2011). In fact, studies have found that violence and aggressive play in sports may serve to enhance the entertainment value of a sporting event because it adds drama. Yet, in capitalizing specifically on the entertainment value of violence, today's professional wrestling is more a circus, with dramatic staging and soap opera stories about the athletes. Since the violence is an intended part of the sport, an entertainment purpose may not be a useful explanation for sport violence. As well, blood sports such as bull fights, dog fighting, and cockfighting, while

valued by some for their entertainment value, may not be useful explanations of sport violence either, as the violence is explicitly provided in these sports. And in many countries, public outrage over their brutality has led to the banning of blood sports, with severe consequences, even though they are billed as entertainment.

Thus, while it might be appropriate in some settings to explain violence in sport as entertainment, how else might we explain it? Athletes sometimes resort to violence in hopes of intimidating opponents to receive a competitive edge. Maybe peer pressure or peer competition also plays a role in violent athletes. For example, aggressive players tend to be idolized by fans (and even parents for child athletes), which may further inspire aggressive acts in the sport.

Perhaps more intriguing from a taboo recreation perspective is why sport fans sometimes behave violently. With greater frequency we read about rioting and violence by crowds at sporting events. Fires have been started in the stands, fans have crossed barricades to attack fans from the other team, athletes have been attacked in parking lots after the game, and referees have been assaulted on the field.

There are numerous guesses why sport spectator violence occurs, many having to do with the conditions of the sport event environment. For example, alcohol consumption is usually associated with eruptions of fan violence. Also, the media encourage "hooliganism" at sporting events by way of sensationalizing its occurrence. A fireball explosion during the Daytona 500 auto race boosted television ratings and led to national headlines.

Box 10.6 What Do You Say?

Cheering Speech

When you go to a game, the governing body can control drunken behavior. It can control someone standing up and blocking the view of others; it can control signage if it blocks the view of others; but it cannot control the views expressed, even loud ones, by the fans (Wasserman, 2006).

In the U.S., is a fan's protest—known in sport law circles as "fan speech" or "cheering speech"—a form of expression protected by the First Amendment? In other words, do fans have the right to bellow at referees and players all game long, as long as they do not run on the court or field or physically harm them?

In fact, one fan gained notice in the 1990s for this. He was a fixture at Washington Bullets basketball games, where he sat behind the opposing team's bench and shouted at players, sometimes through a megaphone. He was careful about his language. He was not asked to leave, yet when the Bullets moved to a new arena, the team relocated this season ticket holder behind the basket (Pennington, 2012).

1. Many cheering speech controversies, especially on college campuses, are grounded in concerns for civility, politeness, and good taste versus individual freedoms of speech. What is your position on fan speech rights?
2. Under what circumstances, should a referee draw the line and eject from a game a fan who is using excessive "cheering speech"?
3. At what point does "cheering speech" violate the rights of other fans?

As well, certain sport types seem to be more conducive to spectator disruptions. For example, an examination of newspaper accounts (Eitzen, 1984) demonstrated that in 75% of the cases, the precipitating event of spectator violence was violence in the game. This is perhaps why football, soccer, and ice hockey are most often cited in sport spectator violence examples. Fans seem to demand a certain level of violence for these sports, even though excessive aggression reduces a team's chance of winning. Jewell,

Coates, and Moti (2011) proposed that this is perhaps because fans experience a sense of catharsis from viewing blows and wrecks and that watching others be aggressive helps people vicariously release their pent-up negative emotions.

Explanations of Taboo Recreation

Why do people participate in leisure pursuits considered to be harmful, immoral, wrong, gruesome, abnormal, a crime, or just plain weird? What explains the popularity of vandalism, illegal gambling, risky health behaviors, and violence in sport? Explanations for taboo recreation have been sought to reduce its incidence, but, as with deviant behavior in general, available explanations do not fully settle the matter. As a result, there are many theoretical positions (see Table 10.1). We will consider three that are perhaps the most applicable to leisure: anomie, differential association, and retreatism.

Table 10.1
Theories of Deviance in Leisure

Theory for deviant behavior	Associated theorist	Deviance arises from:
Strain	Robert Merton	A lack of ways to reach socially accepted goals by accepted methods (i.e., **retreatism**)
Cultural Deviance	Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay	Conformity to the norms of lower-class society (i.e., prole leisure)
Labeling	Edwin Lemert	People accepting the negative labels placed on them by others (i.e., you are a deviant)
Differential Association	Edwin Sutherland	Learning and modeling the deviant behavior seen in others close to the person
Social Control	Travis Hirschi	Feelings of disconnection from society
Anomie	Émile Durkheim & later Robert Merton	Normlessness or norm confusion within a society
Unequal System	Karl Marx	Inequalities in wealth and power that arise from the economic system

Anomie: Lack of the usual social or ethical standards in an individual or group

The first possible explanation for taboo recreation we will discuss is the concept of anomie. **Anomie** is a state of isolation that occurs when once-viable social norms no longer work for people (Merton, 1968). Anomie is when there is a mismatch between individual circumstances and larger social mores—it is the lack of a social ethic, normlessness.

Anomie is a nurtured condition, and Simmel (1971) blames the changes and disruptions of life in modern society in general as creating ripe conditions for the development of anomie. The point is not that modern stress causes deviant forms of leisure, but rather it provides an environment in which taboo pastime choices are fostered (Moore, 1982).

Boredom may provide an example of an environment conducive to anomie and thus the creation of deviant leisure choices. Boredom is a human emotion that occurs when one's life experience is not meaningful enough. Boredom usually results from too little stimulation, motivation, and interest. Although we typically consider leisure as an antidote to boredom, there are numerous examples of boredom in leisure. For example, boredom can result for those who regularly perform preset exercise routines, is one of the main outcomes of extensive television watching, and is often a reason participants drop out of sports.

Box 10.7 In Your Own Experience

Leisure Boredom

Instructions: Do you relate more to the statements in column A or column B?

Column A	Column B
For me, leisure time just drags on and on.	During my leisure time, I become highly involved in what I do.
During my leisure time, I feel like I'm just "spinning my wheels."	If I could retire now with a comfortable income, I would have plenty of things to do.
In my leisure, I usually don't like what I'm doing, but I don't know what else to do.	Leisure experiences are an important part of my quality of life.
I waste too much of my leisure time sleeping.	I like to try new leisure activities that I have never tried before.
I do not have many leisure skills.	During my leisure time, I almost always have something to do.

If you chose column A, you may be experiencing what Iso-Ahola and Weisinger (1990) refer to as leisure boredom.



Figure 10.6. Involvement in unstructured leisure activities is often blamed as a source of boredom. In a study by Badura et al. (2018), adolescents who were highly engaged only in unstructured recreation activities were more likely to participate in health-risk behaviors and report worse academic achievement than those who participated in organized recreation activities.

The questions in the In Your Own Experience box helped Iso-Ahola and Weisinger (1990) propose that boredom is a consequence of our pastimes. They called this **leisure boredom**. Leisure boredom is the perception that leisure is a meaningless routine that does not satisfy the need for optimal arousal (Figure 10.6). Many consider leisure boredom a special case of anomie that can lead to destructive choices in many aspects of life. For example, in a study of school dropouts, which adjusted for the effects of age, gender, and race, leisure boredom was a significant predictor of dropping out of school (Wegner, Flisher, Chikoubvu, Lombard, & King, 2007).

In addition to anomie, other explanations for taboo recreation are plausible. This includes the theory of differential association. **Differential association** simply claims that delinquent behavior, including taboo recreation, is learned through interaction with others. If a person's social group is delinquent, deviant forms of leisure may be learned from it. Social groups such as peers on sports teams, housemates at college, cliques at school, and friends in the neighborhood affect young people in particular.

Leisure boredom: When people feel they cannot escape a meaningless leisure routine

Differential association: Delinquent behavior learned from others

In addition to possibly explaining risky health behaviors, differential association might explain gangs. There is no single, generally accepted definition of a gang. The term *street gang* is often used interchangeably with *youth gang*. However, the term *street gang* suggests street socialization, which is a key feature of adolescent gangs (Vigil, 2002).

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in the U.S. there are at least 30,000 violent street gangs, motorcycle gangs, and prison gangs with about 800,000 members (as cited in Decker, 2012), and internationally gangs have been documented in both developed and developing countries in North and South America, Europe, Asia, and Africa. Youth gangs are located in urban, suburban, small-town, and rural areas and are often organized along ethnic, racial, and gender lines. Their activities include robbery, vandalism, drug sales, aggravated assault, rape, and in some cases, murder.

Because gangs may offer opportunities for power, recognition, excitement, and independence (Manson, 1990), they create pleasurable associations that can lead to antisocial acts. Lo (2000) highlighted four dimensions of differential association that control this: The influence of groups on deviant behavior varies depending on how frequently they assemble, the amount of time they spend together, the level of priority the friendship is to group members, and the intensity of the friendship group.

In terms of leisure, the effects of gang activity have been primarily examined from the perspective of their detrimental effects on leisure for the residents of gang-affected neighborhoods. Most of the concern for communities focuses on how fear of gang crime makes residents less likely to visit outdoor recreation locations and engage in physical activity. But a study by Stodolska, Berdychevsky, and Shinew (2017) investigated involvement in gangs as a leisure activity for gang members. It concluded that the leisure behavior among gang members revolved around house parties that usually involved drugs, alcohol, and sex; hanging around together on street corners; violence perpetrated against members of opposing gangs; and vandalism. The study discussed differential association as a meaningful explanation for these results.

Retreatism: Differences from the dominant social norms as a matter of personal expression



Figure 10.7. Zombie walks have become somewhat common in towns and cities, especially in North America, often becoming annual traditions, though some are also spontaneous "flash mob"–style performance art. Columbus, Ohio, 2012.

Finally, a third possible explanation for taboo recreation may be the idea of **retreatism**. Retreatism is a lifestyle that pulls away from dominant social norms as a matter of personal expression (Rojek, 1999). Dropping out, taking drugs, sexual experimentation, and engaging in other pastimes (e.g., zombie walks; Figure 10.7) that are antithetical to the conventional order of life may be considered an expression of self, in which a lifestyle is created around an alternative personal identity. Merton (1968) provided the classic description of retreatism as those who have "relinquished culturally prescribed goals, and their behavior does not accord with institution norms" (p. 207).

Retreatism is a classification of behavior within a larger theory about deviant behavior developed by American sociologist Robert Merton (1910–2003). Titled strain theory, the larger theory has an underlying assumption that societies provide culturally valued goals and culturally valued means for achievement of these goals (See Table 10.1 again). When someone is not willing or able to

match these goals and means, strain results. One way of dealing with this strain is through retreatism, so postulates Merton's theory. Retreatism, then, is a mode of adaptation to strain.

We will illustrate this with the deviant behavior of cheating on a final exam. College students are expected to get good grades, graduate, and enter a well-paying career (goal). They are supposed to do this by studying hard and learning lots (means). What happens, however, when they are unable to accomplish this goal via the expected means? They have options. One is they could ignore the strain and keep on going to class and studying. Another option is they could redefine the goals and means and make a change in their life. Or they could violate the means while hanging on to the goal, and cheat at tests and plagiarize papers. Finally, they could give up and stay in their dorm room playing video games and partying. This last mode of adaptation is retreatism.

What We Understand About Taboo Recreation

Leisure holds tremendous potential for people's well-being, but at times leisure can also have negative outcomes. As a result of studying this chapter, you should understand the following:

- Taboo recreation activities are those pastimes typically forbidden by law, custom, or belief.
  Describe the implications of the use of the word *taboo* to label these activities.
- Several concepts offer fuller descriptions of taboo recreation, including ideational mentality, sensate mentality, deviance, and prole leisure.
  Select and define two of these concepts and also provide an example of each from your own experience.
- Examples of taboo recreation include vandalism, illegal gambling, risky health behaviors, and violence in sport.
  Applying information from the chapter, explain the taboo nature of one of these examples from your own experience.
- Determining good leisure from bad leisure is both complex and a dilemma. If leisure is a matter of personal preferences, distinctions of worth for specific pastimes are useless.
  Explain this dilemma in terms of one of the examples of taboo recreation presented in the chapter.
- Explanations for why people choose taboo forms of recreation include anomie, differential association, and retreatism.
  Select one of these explanations, define it, and give an example that supports your definition.

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Part 3

Leisure as Instrument: Systems Context

Leisure is a powerful tool that both helps and harms the social order.

In this final section, we will turn our attention to the functional side of leisure—its ability to be an instrument for accomplishing other things beyond itself.

Chapter 11

Demonstrates how an instrumental web of leisure, work, and money dictates our lives.

Chapter 12

Considers both the freedom and tyranny of time on our leisure.

Chapter 13

Focuses on leisure as a means of achieving and resisting equity.

Chapter 14

Concludes our explorations by overviewing today's leisure services systems.

CHAPTER 11

The Work, Money, Leisure Tripartite

Why do we work?

Today, the productivity brought about by working is necessary for human survival, yet it may or may not allow us to thrive.

What is the relationship of leisure to work?

There are conflicting answers to this. Some argue work is a less desirable human condition and leisure is needed to overcome it, while others claim work is more uniquely satisfying in life. Then, some declare work and leisure are equally desirable life situations.

If the relationship of leisure to work is capricious, does leisure have economic value nonetheless?

Leisure is an economic balancing tool. It mirrors a nation's level of economic development and its economic system. Leisure also drives an economy by fostering consumerism.

Like work, is leisure good for an economy?

Leisure makes good economic sense. It benefits employment, taxes, investments, and profits. But leisure can also result in undesirable costs, such as from injuries and lost productivity.



At a very early age, we begin to play. But most of us also understand from an early age that work is a constant in life too (Figure 11.1). As we grow into adulthood, we begin to sense there can be a conflict about what is more worthwhile—should we focus on play or on work? On the one hand, we are advised that if we want to get to the top of our chosen career, we should put in long work hours. On the other hand, we are admonished that working too hard ruins our physical and psychological health—that we need more leisure in our lives. Are there economic ramifications either way? In this chapter, we will consider the relationship of leisure to work and economics. We will begin with the idea of balancing work and leisure and then discuss the economic consequences of this balance.

Balancing Leisure and Work



Figure 11.1. School's out! Well, maybe not any more. A growing number of kids are attending summer school. In fact, in the U.S., the percentage attending summer school has set a record high: 45.6% for 16- to 19-year-olds (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015). Why? In the early 1800s, rural communities operated schools for a winter and a summer term of 2 to 3 months each. The spring and fall, labor-intensive times for farming, featured no school so the children could work.

What is work? Why do people work? Why do some people work harder than is required? Is there a work problem in society? Work, most simply, can be defined as the expenditure of effort. It is the use of energy (human, animal, mechanical, electrical, solar, etc.) to produce something. We go to work, we finish our work, we work hard. Work is a place, an activity, a quality of character. It is how we spend time and expend our mental and physical resources. It is something that pays the bills or something that defines us. It is something we seek out or something we want to get away from.

Why Work?

Answering the question of why people work is convoluted. One source of answer is anthropological and based in the Latin expression **homo faber** ("Man the Maker"). Homo faber is considered the biological name for humans, suggesting work is what makes us human. Humans create, build, change, and control their world. Humankind, since its inception, has used tools and materials to ensure its survival as well as to express self-realization. Work is for making possibilities—things that did not exist before.

Homo faber: Human as worker

Yet there is also the idea of **homo ludens,** connoting that play also makes us human. First labeled by Dutch historian Johan Huizinga in 1938, play is primary to and a necessary condition of creating culture. The Latin word ludens is not directly translatable to English, as it simultaneously refers to sport, play, school, and practice. Huizinga writes, "All peoples play, and play remarkably alike" (p. 28). Therefore, leisure is also for making possibilities.

Homo ludens: Human as player

Another answer to the question of why people work comes from the concept of productivity. We work to be more efficient in the expenditure of our energies. This is productivity—a measure of the efficiency of the work of a person, machine, system, and so on. We can speculate that our human ancestors had to conserve energy to compete for scarce resources. Therefore, work was even then a matter of production efficiency. With modern means of production, however, most people today no longer expend much energy on basic survival needs, yet the long-formed tendency to conserve energy lingers (Kowalski, 2018).

Productivity is important at all levels of society. Increasing national productivity, for example, can raise people's living standards by producing income they can use to purchase goods and services, afford better housing and education, and enjoy more leisure. At the individual level, wanting to be productive can help you get ahead in your career as well as bring you the satisfaction of constantly improving. Productivity of workers in many societies has increased over the years. For example, in the U.S., since 1950, productivity has increased 246%, although hourly compensation has gone up only 117% (Economic Policy Institute, 2018). Ironically, research has shown that when people are paid more to work, they tend to work longer hours (Becker, 1965).

During the Industrial Revolution, 14- to 16– hour workdays were normal (Atack & Bateman, 1992). Since then, working hours have gradually declined. Indeed, in 1932 Aldous Huxley (best known for his novel *Brave New World*) believed workers were on track for massive improvements in productivity, which would make us richer and give us more leisure time. And, at this same time, Bertrand Russell (1935) claimed that a 4-hour workday should be enough work for everybody.

Yet in spite of these early predictions, work is probably here to stay. In the U.S., the average full-time salaried employee is putting in nearly 10 hours a day (Saad, 2014). Across all types of workers (including part-time, seasonal, etc.) the U.S. is ranked 16th in workweek hours worldwide. As well, 83% of employed Americans aged 25 and older say they do some type of work-related activities when on vacation (Bank of America, 2016).

Box 11.1 By the Numbers

Average Workweek for Selected Countries (in hours)

Turkey	47.7
Mexico	45.2
Chile	43.1
Greece	38.8
United States	38.6
United Kingdom	36.5
Australia	35.7
Germany	34.4
Netherlands	29.2

Source: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, n.d.

Another reason people work is that it provides rewards. One obvious one is that workers exchange their time, energy, and talent for money to buy things. Yet anyone who has ever worked, even for the necessity of earning money, knows work provides other rewards too. Work activities are often interesting and filled with opportunities for self-development, recognition, and sociability. Work can provide a sense of contributing. In fact, work often offers people their central identity. When we meet someone new, we typically introduce ourselves by what we do for work. "I am a lawyer" or "I am a student." Even those retired from work are tempted to claim their identity through their former work, especially if they worked in a high-status occupation. "I'm a retired surgeon."

So work offers many rewards, but does all work provide these rewards and is work satisfying to all workers? Clearly not. For example, according to a 2018 survey by the Conference Board, only 51% of Americans are overall satisfied with their work. This is a decrease from previous years. Further, workers' interest in their work was surveyed at 60%, satisfaction with wages was 43%, and satisfaction with

the potential for growth was 38%. In the survey, satisfaction with their company's vacation policies was 54%, even though Americans do not use about 768 million vacation days a year (U.S. Travel Association, 2019).

Often, workers characterize their work as boring, stressful, unrewarding, and uninteresting—opposite the qualities of leisure. Why is there dissatisfaction in work? Causes include excessive workloads, concerns about management's ability to lead the company, anxieties about future incomes and retirements, lack of challenges, stifled creativity, frustration over the nature of the work, and insufficient levels of recognition. The tangible symptoms of work dissatisfaction show up as tardiness, apathy, and complaining. The intangible symptoms are worse and include depression, anxiety, and impulsivity.

Leisure Versus (and?) Work

The relationship of work and leisure has a long and noble tradition. As we already explored in an earlier chapter, for example, the ancient Romans considered leisure a means to oversee the work of a large empire. There were wars, taxes, barbarians, and citizens to manage, so the Romans used mass spectacles to placate it all. Later, the powerful influence of early Christianity in medieval Europe elevated work to godliness and demoted leisure to an obstruction. Across several more centuries, industrialization solidified the idea of a work ethic, a transition that continued to separate work and leisure in everyday life. Driven by voracious machines, work came to be associated with the values of speed and efficiency and thus productivity (Robinson & Godbey, 1997), and leisure as devalued because it was viewed as nonproductive.

Leisure and work are often directly compared. For example, leisure is considered a solution for dissatisfactions of work. Yet, just as often, other people love their jobs so much it seems like play to them. Some people do not feel they deserve leisure if they do not have a job. Studies have also suggested we are as likely to develop good friends from our place of work as from our leisure activities, yet work friends create stress more often than leisure friends (Reid, 1995). Does work power our leisure or leisure power our work? These are complex and contradictory questions, so we will explore work and leisure comparisons a bit more.

There are basically three ways of comparing work and leisure. One view is pro-leisure. It maintains work is a less desirable human condition and we need leisure to control or overcome its problematic effects. This perspective suggests that a leisure-filled life is more natural. Another, and opposite, view is more pro-work, holding that work is the expected state of humans and the role of leisure is in support of it. Leisure helps us be more productive. Finally, perhaps neither a pro-leisure nor pro-work perspective is true, but rather the relationship is simply neutral. That is, it maintains all is well with both work and leisure and healthy people need the rewards and satisfactions from both. Life is only meaningful when work and leisure are in balance. We will check out these three view points more thoroughly.

1. We'll begin with the pro-leisure view:

Leisure is the paramount human condition, and its relationship to work is in helping overcome the inhumane consequences of work. One such consequence is workaholism. **Workaholism** is a term coined in the 1970s that describes an addiction to work—the pursuit of the work persona (Oates, 1971). It is working long hours to gain approval and success. Even though workaholism is desired as a status symbol by workers in particularly high-paying occupations, it is also considered a serious problem in many (but not all) contemporary societies.

Workaholism: Colloquially: compulsiveness about working

While there is no generally accepted medical definition, Griffiths (2011) summarized clinical and anecdotal literature to suggest that in workaholism work becomes the single most important activity in the person's life and dominates thinking, feelings, and behavior. For instance, even if not working, the person will still be preoccupied with thinking about it (Figure 11.2).

A strong work ethic can certainly have its benefits; hard workers are considered desirable because they work with vigor, tenacity, and enthusiasm. Yet working hard is not the same thing as workaholism. A hard worker sits at his or her desk dreaming of a holiday on a beach; a workaholic sits on the beach fretting about work in the office (Brennan, 2008).

Box 11.2
The Study Says

Generational Differences in Work Ethic?

Even though stereotypes suggest older generations (e.g., baby boomers) have higher levels of work ethic than younger generations (e.g., millennials), there is only mixed evidence of any generational differences. A recent study compiled a data set from 105 published studies that provided an average sample age and average work ethic score (Zabel, Biermeier-Hanson, Baltes, Early, & Shepard, 2016). Regression analyses found no effect of generational differences. There were differences, however, according to sample type, such that industry samples had higher work ethic than student samples.

Source: Zabel, et. al., 2016.

Workaholism interferes with life and not only negatively affects social health but also physical and mental health. For example, too little sleep and too much stress, often associated with workaholism, can lead to elevated blood pressure, headaches, chest pain, digestive difficulties, fatigue, anxiety, and irritability (Kubota, Shimazu, Kawakami, Takahashi, Nakata, & Schaufeli, 2010). The prescription for workaholism is leisure: to return to health, the worker needs to incorporate more leisure into life. Common advice is for the worker to develop meaningful hobbies, get more outdoor exercise, and do enjoyable pursuits with friends and family.



Figure 11.2. Is there truth in the phrase "Work Hard, Play Hard"? According to a study by Aarssen and Crimi (2016), there really is a go-getter personality type that desires success in both work and play.

Yet what is particularly interesting is that the compulsive nature of workaholism can be applied to leisure as well! That is, we can engage in pastimes too in a work-like way. Many people today overcommit to recreation activities to the point where leisure takes on the characteristics of work. Their weekends are booked with social obligations, shopping, gardening, youth sport schedules, and planned outings. No free time is left for spontaneity. Workaholism applied to leisure is called **play-aversion** (Dickens, 1991). Symptoms include placing a high value on always being busy in leisure, playing hard, overscheduling activities, and feeling anxious when nothing is scheduled.

Play-aversion: Applying the behaviors and standards of work to leisure

Another way we can consider the role of leisure in "solving" the problems of work is via the concept of *workplace play*. Play has gained increasing interest among managers as an important driver of motivation and productivity in work contexts (Petelczyc, Capezio, Wang, & Restubog, 2017). Their conviction

is they are capitalizing on the benefits of play for increasing employee communication, collaboration, creativity, advocacy, health, and of course, efficiency. A fun work environment "intentionally encourages, initiates, and supports a variety of enjoyable and pleasurable activities that positively impact the attitude and productivity of individuals and groups" (Ford, McLaughlin, & Newstrom, 2003, p. 20; Figure 11.3).

For example, LEGO offers an annual "play day," where employees have the day off to simply play with LEGO products (LEGO, 2018). The New Belgium Brewing Company has a "director of fun" and the Colorado-based company's headquarters boasts a rock climbing wall, table tennis table, and slide in its designated fun space (Green, 2014). And, where safety is not an issue, some workplaces have "Take Your Dog to Work Days." (See https://www.petsit.com/take-your-dog-to-work-day-history.)

Another workplace fun strategy is *gamification*—applying game-oriented thinking to various nongame applications (Robson, Plangger, Kietzmann, McCarthy, & Pitt, 2015). For example, Google has incorporated a travel expense game that focuses on employees who travel a lot. They are invited to keep track of their travel expenses related to the business trip, and any of the expense account money not spent gets paid back into their salary, or they may also donate it to a charity (Coy, 2015).



Figure 11.3. Pike Place Fish Market, Seattle, Washington. Job descriptions here include throwing customer-ordered fish and rigging a string to the tail of a big fish that is jerked when a customer gets close to inspect it. What if all work was this much fun?

2. On the other hand, according to the pro-work perspective:

Work is not at fault—work is ennobling. Even the most unpaid, unimportant, and unpleasant work is better than no work. Work builds something new; we feel elevated. We improve ourselves through work. In contrast, this view considers leisure as outside ordinary life, something that remains separate from what is important.

An illustration of the pro-work view is the concept of **central life interest**. Originally identified by sociologists in 1956, the idea usually cites work as playing the major role in people's lives. When our work is a central life interest (also labeled high work centrality), we identify with our work role and see work as the most important aspect of life. Work as central life interest is a relatively stable attitude that is not sensitive to conditions of a specific work setting (Hirschfeld & Field, 2000).

Central life interest: The primary focus of one's life and identity

How about you? Suppose you won an obscene amount of money in a lottery. Would you still work if you never needed to work for money again? If you answer yes, work is likely a central life interest for you. Actually, this is a fairly common interview question that assesses people's commitment to work, and according to polls taken across the years, most people would continue to work even when they do not have to.

Box 11.3 What Do You Say?

90% Unemployment

The man from the Department of Creative Technology (DOCT) had left, leaving Eve Smith in a somewhat skeptical frame of mind. Was it possible?

Eve owns a shoe factory. 1000 workers are directly involved in the production of shoes at an average annual pay of $40,000 each or a total yearly company payroll of $40 million. They produce 1 million pairs of shoes per year, with $80 million in sales. The difference between total sales and payroll covers other expenses and profit.

The man from DOCT suggested she install a computer-controlled robotic system that would enable Eve to lay off 90% of her workforce, that is, 900 workers. Output of shoes would remain the same: 1 million pairs per year. Eve would turn over the salary previously paid to the 900 workers to the DOCT. It, in turn, would keep 10% and put 90% into a Guaranteed Income Fund (GIF). The 900 laid-off workers would be paid 90% of their previous salary from the GIF, either indefinitely or until they secured other employment. In Eve's profit picture, nothing would change. She would have as many shoes to sell and fewer labor and production problems. 900 workers, human beings, would be freed from the necessity of wasting their time making a living. They would be able to develop their capabilities, skills, and talents or, if desired, work voluntarily for the betterment of society.

Just then, Eve heard a faint ringing, as of a faraway bell. Then it became more insistent. She opened her eyes, realizing that she had dozed off. Had it all been a dream?

1. Is this truly a dream or can you see some real possibility in it? Why or why not?
2. If you were given the opportunity to receive 90% of your salary and not work at a job, would you take it? What about 75% or 50% of your salary?
3. Is it possible for leisure to be a central life interest? Read J.B. Nash's classic book *Spectatoritis* (1932) and form your own opinion.

Note: Based on Neulinger, 1990, pp. 22–24.

Yet there is also a shift underway. Enjoying ample and meaningful leisure is beginning to replace the centrality of work for some people. However, as Veal (2012) summarized, many scholars have argued that leisure as a central life interest is not viable, because leisure is not capable of replacing work in providing not only productivity but also the major source of meaning in people's lives. But, remember that leisure and work are not the only sources of meaning in life: There is also care for family and religious and community involvement, although all of these can involve leisure activity.

3. Finally, the neutral view:

This perspective about the relationship between work and leisure maintains that work and leisure are not at battle with each other—both are desirable for their respective benefits. Meaning and satisfaction exist in both, and both are required for realizing life to its fullest. The secret, for this view, is balance.

Achieving a balance of work and leisure in life is a nuanced accomplishment that will be sorted out differently for each of us. The balance will not necessarily be equal nor constant throughout life. Work–leisure balance (also labeled work–life balance) is defined as discovering an appropriate priority between work (career, productivity, and ambition) and lifestyle (health, pleasure, play, family, and spiritual development).

Box 11.4 Web Explore

Work–Leisure Balance

For some inspiration in creating a more balanced relationship between work and leisure, watch this TED talk:

http://www.ted.com/talks/nigel_marsh_how_to_make_work_life_balance_work

The idea that we should keep in check the amount of time spent at work is not new. For example, in the U.S., the manufacturing laws restricting work hours for women and children of the late 1800s, followed by the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act establishing a 44-hour workweek, attest to a long-standing belief that too much work is not good for people. But the idea may have an earlier origin. In 1867, a law limiting the workday to 8 hours was passed in the state of Illinois and another the following year covered certain federal employees. Yet elsewhere, most people were working 10- to 12-hour days, especially in manufacturing.

In 1914, Henry Ford made the announcement that he was raising the wages of all his male workers from $2.34 to $5.00 an hour, more than doubling their current rate, and scaling back from a 48-hour to a 40-hour workweek (Harvey, 2019). Ford reasoned that overworking employees was bad for their productivity and giving them more leisure time without compromising their financial well-being would increase worker loyalty. Of course, they would also have more time to buy and drive Ford automobiles! Ford Motor Company's profits nearly doubled over the next two years.

The 40-hour workweek has been the schedule model since the 1940s. But more recently, different ways of reconfiguring the workweek have become popular. For example, today strategies such as workweek compression, flextime, phased retirement, job sharing, and downshifting will appeal differently to us according to our life situation at the time.

First, some workers have chosen to squeeze a 40-hour workweek into 4 days—4/40. On the 4/40 arrangement, your work hours per day are longer (10 instead of 8), but you work only 4 days per week (instead of 5). Similarly, compressing an 80-hour work schedule into 9 days has become more common. While not for everyone, the popularity of such *workweek compression* is obvious.

The idea of *flextime* means that while a traditional full-time workday in the U.S. starts at 9:00 a.m. and ends at 5:00 p.m., with flextime (or flexitime in British English), full-time employees can choose their individual starting and quitting times. Flextime periods usually overlap with a core time during which all employees must be at work at the same time. For example, you might choose to start your workday at the office at 11:00 a.m. and quit 8 hours later at 7:00 p.m. This would be just fine, because your work schedule includes being at work during a core time, such as between noon and 3:00 p.m.

Perhaps a more familiar strategy for rearranging the workweek is the reduction of the number of hours worked. Working part time, while difficult to pin down in terms of how many work hours per week is a part-time arrangement, is simply cutting back work hours to something less than 40. More specialized examples of part-time work are phased retirement, job sharing, and downshifting.

Phased retirement is an employment arrangement for phasing out work near the end of a career. For people approaching retirement age, a phasing out could include a reduced workload or a gradual reduction in hours (or days) of work. Similarly, a seasonal work arrangement could accomplish the same goal. Also, job sharing schedules could be set up. *Job sharing* is a type of work arrangement in which two people work part-time schedules to complete the work one person would do in a single full-time job.

Meanwhile, as much a philosophy as a work time reduction technique, *downshifting* is like changing to a lower gear on a bicycle. It is a reduction of work life to a lower speed or intensity. It usually involves creating a simpler lifestyle. Downshifters may do any, or all, of the following:

- reduce their work hours, to have more free time and less stress.
- reduce their income, often as a result of reducing work hours.
- reduce their spending and consumption levels, often to compensate for reduced income.
- reduce their job responsibilities or change careers, to reduce stress and work in an environment that matches their personal values.

Of course, work–leisure balancing efforts such as all of these can be complicated by the use of smartphones, e-mail, video chat, and other innovations that make it possible for work to occur beyond a typical 9-to-5 workday. Jeff Bezos is the CEO of Amazon and one of the busiest, wealthiest people in the world. He is not a fan of the phrase "work–life balance" (Bernard, 2018). Instead, he says it is more productive to view it as two integrated parts—he considers the relationship between his work and personal life as reciprocal—as a circle. How might that happen?

The work–leisure balance strategies discussed all refer to different schedules for the workweek. What about freeing time for more leisure that requires an adjustment to the entire lifetime schedule? Most of us live on a lifetime schedule that follows a straight line. That is, life begins with play, is followed by a period of education, then a long term at work, and finally returns to a life of play again through retirement (Figure 11.4.1). Such an approach organizes life strictly in a single direction as preordained by society's custom. Is there another way?



Figure 11.4.1. A linear life plan. © Patricia D. Setser, 2016.

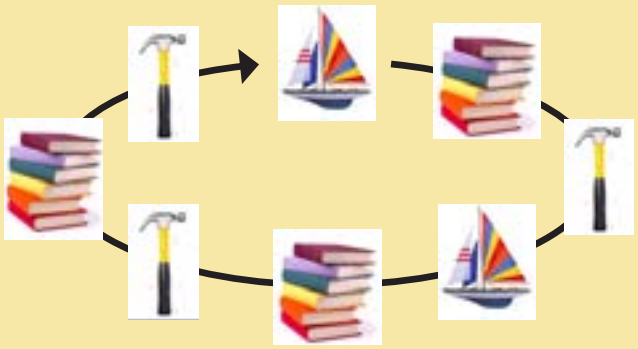


Figure 11.4.2. An alternating life plan redistributes schooling, work, and leisure throughout life. © Patricia D. Setser, 2016.

As Figure 11.4.2 shows, an alternating life plan would redistribute some years of schooling from youth and some free time from retirement into the middle years of life. As a circular life plan, work would not need to be the dominant theme in middle age, nor would leisure in old age. Advantages of an alternating plan are a more even distribution of income over the life span with more people having the opportunity to realize personal goals, such as a college degree, child rearing, and volunteering for a cause. That is, a more circular life schedule would also mean a more evenly distributed expression of leisure interests. This is perhaps what Bezos means by his interpretation of work–leisure balance as a circle: Life is two integrated parts that are reciprocal (Bernard, 2018).

Finally, an idea for how to balance work and leisure in life that does not focus on altering the way we spend time across the week or across the years is *coworking*. This is a worldwide accommodation that focuses on reducing the reasons people are typically dissatisfied with their work lives in the first place. It is a style of work that involves a shared workplace, such as an office or warehouse. Unlike a typical office, those coworking are usually not employed by the same organization. It is a shared space that provides a social gathering for workers while they work—and often a synergy for ideas and solutions to common problems. Some coworking spaces purposefully focus on establishing a sense of community (Figure 11.5).



Figure 11.5. A typical coworking space has around 80 members working at 70 desks spread over an area of around 8,500 feet. Amenities can include kitchens, a barista, social hours, exercise equipment, movable furniture, hammocks, libraries, child care services, nap rooms, yoga sessions, and outdoor space.

Economic Consequences

The complicated web that is the work–leisure relationship not only has implications for societal and individual quality of life but also has economic ramifications. We may already recognize how work is at the heart of economics, but we also need to afford leisure the same conclusion. Through work, both private and public leisure goods and services are being produced, which means leisure is central to consumption and investment in an economy. In fact, questions of how to distribute leisure goods and services have become central to concern for economic growth and decline. Essentially, economics, work, and leisure form an elaborate yet functional tripartite relationship—one that has implications for development, capitalism, and consumerism—resulting in both economic benefit and harm. We will take up each of these consequences one at a time.

Box 11.5
In Your Own Experience

Prove It!

To convince yourself of the economic significance of leisure, try these easy and quick experiments:

1. The next time you are riding along a highway containing billboards, count the number of advertisements in a 10-mile stretch that have something to do with leisure, parks, recreation, sports, tourism, cultural arts, and the like. Calculate a percentage.
2. How much did you spend last weekend for leisure? As best you can remember, write down the money spent the previous Friday through Sunday on having a good time. Include pizzas, movies, gasoline, admission tickets, and everything to do with your leisure expressions. Add it up and calculate its percentage of your total budget.
3. Open your closet. Count the number of items that have some relationship to leisure. Your tennis racket? Running shoes? Jewelry? Party clothes?

Leisure as Economic Development

As an economy grows, it is able to satisfy more and more of its people's needs and wants and thus increase their **standard of living**. One way that economists measure the rate of growth of an economy is by studying its **gross domestic product (GDP)** over time. For example, the GDP of the world for 2019 is predicted to be $88 trillion (USD). The top three countries in terms of economic prosperity are the U.S. ($21 trillion), China ($14 trillion), and Japan ($5 trillion; International Monetary Fund, 2018).

Standard of living: The degree of prosperity in an economy, measured in part by income levels, quality of housing and food, medical care, educational opportunities, etc.

Gross domestic product (GDP): Total market value of the goods and services produced in an economy

Another measure of economic vitality is **gross domestic product (GDP) per capita**. This is a measure of a country's economic output in terms of its population. Many consider this to be a better measurement of standard of living in an economy because it reveals how prosperous a country feels to each of its citizens. For example, the highest GDP per capita is in Luxembourg ($113,954), followed by Switzerland ($83,583). Meanwhile, in the U.S., the GDP per capita is $62,518, in Japan it is $40,106, and in China it is $9,633 (International Monetary Fund, 2018).

Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita: Total market value of an economy's goods and services as divided by the number of people living there

How does all this relate to leisure? Basically, economies develop when they increase the wealth of their inhabitants, and the quality of leisure time, resources, and expressions is a part of this growth. It works this way. Beginning with developing economies, free time and recreation resources are much more limited because the wealth of inhabitants is low. For example, in Sierra Leone, the GDP per capita is $1,791, which ranks it 173rd in the world (International Monetary Fund, 2018). Two thirds of the population is engaged in subsistence agriculture, unemployment is close to 80%, and corruption is common. Leisure, therefore, is expressed more traditionally. For example, soccer is the most popular sport, but primarily played in the streets. Outside the capital Freetown, television is not watched by very many people. Instead, 81% have access to a radio (BBC World Service, 2016).

In developing countries, leisure is typically only possible for those who, because of their economic status, do not need to be directly involved in producing food or shelter. Often, such a leisure class is supported by a working class system. As an economy develops, industrialization reaches a successful level of output so that people have command over consumption. People's basic needs for food, shelter, and clothing are satisfied, and they can focus on leisure opportunities. In mature economies, where people have more wealth, leisure becomes an industry.

Tourism is a good illustration of this (Figure 11.6). Tourism is an aggregate of many businesses: attractions, transportation, lodging, restaurants, entertainment, and advertising. In Malaysia, for example, a majority of those



Figure 11.6. Malaysia's tourism sector is now the sixth largest contributor to its national economy, attracting 25.8 million tourist arrivals annually and contributing a total of RM84.1 billion, or 14.9% of the GDP (Tourism Malaysia, n.d.). It has also become one of the world's top destinations for medical tourism.

with jobs in the service sector of the economy work in the tourist industries. In fact, in 1991, through the Wawasan 2020 (Vision 2020) plan, Malaysia designated that tourism would be part of its economic development tool kit for becoming a world-class economy by 2020; thus, leisure is being used there as an economic development strategy. As I write this, it is almost the year 2020. Did the Wawasan plan succeed? Early predictions hold that the target year may need to be delayed a few years.

But what is the wealth from economic development for? Leisure configures centrally in the answer to this question, and there are several illustrations. For example, to economist John Maynard Keynes, wealth is explicitly *for* leisure. Keynes is credited, along with Adam Smith and a few others, with founding modern economics. For example, Keynes provided the foundation for macroeconomics—the study of economies on the whole, which includes interest rates, employment, budgets, and many other factors. Keynes also revolutionized economic forecasting and predicted that as developing countries became wealthier, leisure, rather than work, would characterize national lifestyles (Figure 11.7).

Keynes used a realistic estimate for growth—2% per year—and pointed out that with that growth the "capital equipment" in the world would increase exponentially. The thesis was simple. As technological progress made possible an increase in the output of goods per hour worked, people would have to work less and less to satisfy their needs, until in the end they would hardly have to work at all. While he was correct in his estimate of increasing world wealth, 100 years later economists wonder why we do not have the life of leisure Keynes envisioned. (See Keynes', 1930/1963, essay "Economic Possibilities for Our Grandchildren.")

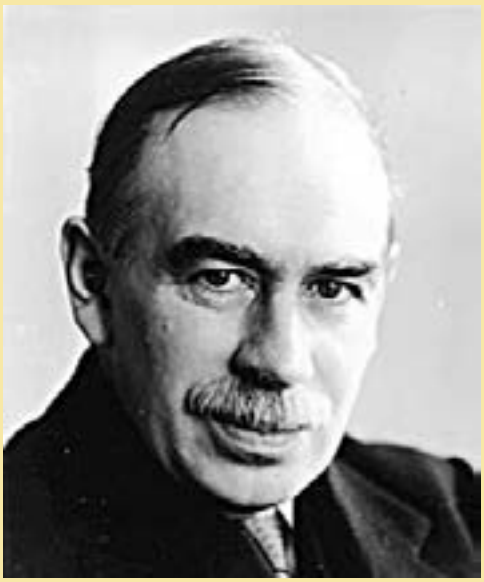


Figure 11.7. John Maynard Keynes (1883–1946) was a British economist and was considered one of the most influential economists of the 20th century. His theory (Keynesian Economic Theory) says that governments should spend money on infrastructure, unemployment benefits, and education to increase consumer demand. (President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program in the Great Depression in the U.S. is an example of this theory.)

Another early economist, Thorstein Veblen (1899), argued a different answer to the purpose of wealth—that leisure is the status symbol of wealth. Veblen was a late 19th century scholar who concluded that leisure was a nonproductive consumption of time, thus leisure was an aristocratic possession. To Veblen, leisure was a decadent economic exploitation because it was characterized by idleness and **conspicuous consumption**—that people spent lavishly on visible goods to prove they were prosperous. To Veblen's economic ideas, golf was the best example of "the conspicuous abstention from labour" that signaled the status of wealth (Jones, 2019, p. 4). Veblen's writings reflected his own time, for in the late 19th century, the pastimes of the wealthy few in Europe and North America contrasted starkly with the poverty of the rest.

Some have asked whether the same is true again? Do today's economically developed societies still reflect Veblen's thesis? Does leisure still designate wealth? Through our leisure consumption, we often make a clear statement about our place in society, or at least our intended place. Our "toys" are our social ID. Interestingly, some research updates Veblen's conclusions. According to a study by contemporary economists (Charles, Hurst, & Roussanov, 2007), the less money your peer group has, the more bling you buy, and vice versa. That is, conspicuous consumption for leisure occurs within the context of wealth.

Conspicuous consumption: Spending money on luxuries to enhance one's prestige

The study found that wealthy people living in locales with other wealthy people spent less on conspicuous leisure goods and services, while wealthy people living near poorer people spent more. The researchers concluded in agreement with Veblen that people comparatively richer than their surroundings want to show off their wealth through leisure.

Does Leisure Drive Capitalism?

Not only does the level of economic development affect leisure, but so does the economic system itself. An **economic system** is a set of social institutions that manage production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services in a society. It is the organized way economics are carried out.

Economic system: The method by which a society allocates its resources and apportions goods and services

Although today no economic system is considered a "pure" version of its basic principles, the basic ones include barter, capitalism, market, socialism, and gift. Some world economies are considered "mixed" in that they combine two or more basic systems. Most mixed economies can be described as market economies with strong governmental regulatory oversight. Countries in the European Union, the U.S., and Canada are examples of mixed economies because both private enterprise and government regulation are integral to their system. Yet these countries have different mixtures, for example, with the U.S. being closer to capitalism and France having a larger dose of socialism in its mixture.

Different economic systems relate to leisure differently. We will illustrate this point with the economic system of capitalism. **Capitalism** is based on the principle of private ownership of the means of production and distribution of goods and services. It promotes a free market regulated by supply and demand, with the goal of making profits for private individuals and companies.

Capitalism: The economic system of privately possessing capital

The central idea of the capitalistic free-enterprise system dates to the Middle Ages in Western Europe with the early forms of merchant capitalism practiced especially in the Netherlands. The idea was "the advancement of private persons will be the advantage of the public" (Joseph Lee, as cited in Goodale & Godbey, 1988, p. 74). Scottish economist Adam Smith (1937) later expanded on this idea in his book *An Inquiry Into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*. According to Smith, the basic premises of economic order under capitalism were (a) self-interest is a prime motivation, (b) individual striving and work will lead to a common good, and (c) no regulation of the economy is best.

How does leisure fare under a capitalist economic system? Karl Marx—the father of socialism—made a comment about this in the 1880s when he criticized the suppression of leisure under capitalism. Because capitalism's idea of free enterprise is based on the labor of individuals, leisure was considered an obstruction. "In capitalist society . . . leisure time for a privileged class is produced by converting the whole lifetime of the masses into labor time" (Marx, as cited in Cunningham, 1980, p. 515).

Even to Smith (1937), the relationship was antagonistic: the more leisure, the less progress; the more progress, the less leisure. Similarly, in more contemporary writings, the relationship between leisure and capitalism remains contrary. Based on the question of whether leisure meets individual or societal needs, Torkildsen (2005) maintained that under capitalism leisure is not an individual right, but rather something to be given as a reward or withheld as a punishment. As well, contemporary economist Juliet Schor (1992) argued capitalism tends to expand work to the detriment of leisure. Personal economic need and desire often require workers to hold down more than one job or seek overtime above the 40-hour workweek standard. Schor's (2010) advice for more leisure is: work and spend less, create and connect more.

Box 11.6 In Profile

Veblen, Smith, Marx, and Schor

Do economists consider the relationship between leisure and economics similarly? Separated by many years, is there still a contemporary thread in the ideas of Adam Smith, Karl Marx, Thorstein Veblen, and Juliet Schor?

	Adam Smith	Karl Marx	Thorstein Veblen	Juliet Schor
				
Time period	Late 1700s	Mid-1800s	Late 1800s	Early 21st century
Biography	Moral philosopher at University of Glasgow. Generally considered the founder of capitalism.	From Prussia (now Germany). Working with Friedrich Engels, is known as socialism's most zealous intellectual.	Professor at University of Chicago and Stanford University. Coined the expression "conspicuous consumption."	Professor of sociology at Boston College. Focuses on trends in work, leisure, consumerism, environmental and economic justice.
Economic premise	Individual self-interest with no regulation provides for a common good.	Exchanges of equal value for equal value, where value is determined by amount of work put into whatever is produced.	Economic behavior is driven by human instincts of emulation, predation, and curiosity. His ideas are the basis of modern advertising.	Economics based on consumerist mentality (spending for social meaning) harm people and communities.
Consequence for leisure	Leisure is an obstruction to progress.	Leisure is harmed when not equally available. To gain more leisure, the lower classes must overthrow the upper classes.	Leisure is the outward expression of the upper classes. To gain more leisure, the lower classes must climb up to the upper classes.	Keeping up with the Joneses requires working more, which means less leisure time and energy.

Other economic systems also have a roller-coaster relationship with leisure. For example, those within a socialist economic system have been able to acquire free time but are often unsuccessful in producing the goods and services people want for leisure. This might mean that when leisure is defined as buying something, a capitalist economic system is effective. We will take up this idea in the next section.

Consumerism

A fundamental part of any economic system is **consumption**. In most economies, it is the largest spending category. It includes purchases of nondurable goods, such as bowling shoes, and durable goods, such as a bowling ball. We also consume services, such as bowling leagues. You can tell a lot about an individual's (and a society's) economic situation by observing their consumption patterns. Do they drive a Hummer or a 20-year-old VW bus? Although you sometimes come across people who live well below or above their means, consumption and income tend to be closely tied.

Consumption: All purchases of goods and services for personal use

We all participate in an economy through consumption, yet not all of us participate in consumerism. **Consumerism** is buying things that are unnecessary in an exaggerated way. Consumerism is most likely found in capitalist societies where it is typically stimulated by media. Unlike consumption, consumerism has emotional, social, and psychological origins, as well as economic, that encourage people to buy things to evade social discrimination.

Consumerism: A social and economic order that encourages the purchase of goods and services in ever greater amounts; preoccupation with and an inclination toward the buying of consumer goods

Leisure is a primary source of both consumption and consumerism. Indeed, expenditures for leisure are at the center of some economies. Making money and spending money in the scheme of modern life are correlative actions, and of the two, spending money is usually rated as more pleasant—in fact, more leisure.

People buy fishing licenses, amusement park admissions, gasoline for powerboats, golf clubs, pets, iPod downloads, flower seeds, and jogging shoes. Leisure spending is huge. For example, global expenditures for sports footwear is about $79.9 billion annually (Statista, 2019). Economists also report expenditures for leisure goods have been increasing at a faster rate than other types of merchandise. For example, in the late 1800s in the U.S., less than 2% of household expenditures were devoted to recreation goods and services, as compared to 2017 when leisure claimed about 10% of all personal consumption (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2018; Figure 11.8).

Economists have labeled the 2008–2012 economic recession the "Great Recession," marking it as an economic decline that affected the world economy. It caused higher detriment in some countries than others and was characterized by a variety of systemic imbalances. In the U.S., for example, persistent higher unemployment resulted, along with mediocre consumer confidence, continuing flat home values, high foreclosures, escalating federal debt, and rising petroleum and food prices.



Figure 11.8. In the second quarter of 2018, consumers in the United Kingdom reported increasing their leisure spending in 9 of the 11 categories. For example, spending on entertainment increased by 5%, drinking in bars by 4%, and spending on gyms and fitness by 2%. Source: Deloitte, 2018.

In times of recession, such as this, is leisure considered a luxury good and therefore consumers reduce their expenditures? To answer, we will consider world tourism. According to the World Tourism Organization (2012), international tourism receipts in 2011 exceeded $1 trillion (USD) for the first time ever, up from $928 billion in 2010. In

real terms, this means receipts grew by 3.8%, based on a 4.6% increase in international tourists. By regions, the Americas (+5.7%) recorded the largest increase in receipts, followed by Europe (+5.2%) and Asia and the Pacific (+4.3%). Thus, counterintuitively, people increased their travel spending during and immediately after the recession.

However, not all leisure sectors demonstrated this much resilience to the recession. For example, between 2009 and 2011, U.S. consumers increased their expenditures on entertainment by 2.7% (an average of $2,572 annually per household), which is less than the 3.3% increase in consumer spending overall at that time (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2012). All this means that leisure remains a growth industry. That is, buying leisure goods and services is good for the economy, but the web entangling leisure and consumption is dynamic, so such a grand conclusion is complicated.

We will consider shopping as another illustration. Although we have no clear estimates of how many of us spend time wandering around the stores, several studies have pointed to the prevalence of shopping as a favorite pastime. In fact, when people are given more free time, participating in shopping tends to increase. Visiting shops and shopping malls (both actually and virtually) is for many a preferred form of evening or weekend recreation. Shopping is fun—an experience—a fact not lost on retail marketing strategies. As an example, take Recreational Equipment Inc.'s (REI) flagship store in Seattle, Washington. With a simulated rain shower to test rain gear, a glass-encased climbing wall to test climbing gear, a rough-and-tumble path through a forest to test mountain bikes and boots, and even an in-store ranger station, this outdoor equipment retailer reflects the growing trend of shopping as entertainment.

Yet is shopping really leisure? If what we want are things, and things cost money, and money costs time (deGrazia, 1962), then are we experiencing leisure through shopping? This question leads us to the concept of the **harried leisure** class. First noticed by Steffan Linder in his 1970 book by the same title, the relevance of this idea today is stunning. Linder was the first economist to understand and predict the frantic pace of leisure in modern life (Godbey, 2003). In his little book, he pointed out that consumption takes time, and with increased levels of products and services, time for consumption has to be sped up. Linder considered this the antithesis of leisure. We have to work more to be able to buy more things and thus get into a hectic, never satisfied, materialistic frenzy.

Harried leisure: Spending money for leisure, thus spoiling leisure by making us feel frantic

It is common wisdom that owning more and more material possessions will not necessarily bring happiness. Economists and psychologists who have spent decades studying the relationship between wealth and happiness have generally concluded wealth increases human happiness when it lifts people out of abject poverty and into the middle class, but it does little to increase happiness thereafter (Gilbert, 2006). So what if we were more conserving in our leisure consumption? Could we still have fun?

What would happen if we did not want faster jet skis, easy travel to unusual places, and hundreds of music downloads? What would life be like if we engaged in only activities that made a minimal demand on material goods, such as walking, yoga, reading, singing, and dancing? How would our health be affected if we chose the cheaper cross-country skiing over the more expensive downhill skiing, hiking instead of all-terrain motorbikes, or playing basketball at the park rather than at the club? Would recycling the medals we won in sport competitions, repairing and passing on to others toys our children have outgrown, and taking our own cup to the refreshment stand help the environment? Earlier in the chapter, we considered the concept of downshifting, choosing a less pressured and less highly paid lifestyle. This idea reenters the discussion here as it relates to consumption. Downshifting inevitably means reducing consumption.

How Leisure Benefits and Harms an Economy

Even with the delicate and sometimes conflicting balance between leisure and economics that we illustrated through the concepts of economic development, capitalism, and consumption, there is no

doubt that leisure has economic power. Yet the economic worth of leisure can be both positive and negative (Figure 11.9).

For example, the presence of leisure facilities and programs attracts businesses and industries to particular locales. Cultural and sporting events are good public relations for the corporations that sponsor them, ultimately increasing profits. Well-planned leisure services can help reduce the costs of crime. Therapeutic recreation treatments return injured workers to the job, thus contributing to their company's and nation's productivity. And, according to a study of fitness and pay raises (Kosteas, 2012), exercising three or more times a week leads to 6% higher pay for men, on average, and 10% more for women. The pay hike is due to, claims the study, induced productivity boosts.

Box 11.7
The Study Says

Leisure for Productivity

Most economists measure work productivity based on efforts conducted at places of work. In contrast, psychologists and sociologists argue that leisure has a positive role in the productivity process. To examine whether leisure can improve individuals' labor productivity by affecting workers' self-development, a global study used data from 21 countries (Cui, Wei, Wu, Cui, & Nijkamp, 2018). It was concluded that the relationship is an inverted U shape. That is, when leisure time reaches an optimal level, leisure has a compensatory effect on work and can positively influence work productivity, but when leisure time exceeds an optimal value, leisure has a substitution effect on work and can negatively influence work productivity. The remaining question for each of us, of course, is for work productivity, what is our best optimal leisure time?



Figure 11.9. The Velvet Rope Economy (Schwartz, 2017) is the proliferation of social class—segregated but side-by-side experiences. At Sea World in Florida for $1,300 a day, you can go into a special section, Discovery Cove, and swim with dolphins. Aboard Norwegian Cruise Line you can pay more and stay in a "ship within a ship"—an exclusive part with private dining, swimming, and 24-hour concierge service. Or the VIP box at a sports stadium is certainly enviable.

As well, and although it is difficult to estimate the number of people whose job income is leisure related, available statistics suggest many occupations have something to do with the provision of leisure goods and services for others. For example, those in the entertainment fields, supervisors in city recreation agencies, managers in parks and forests, hospital recreation therapists, trainers at health and fitness facilities, employees of restaurants and hotels, wedding planners, bowling center managers, travel agents, and many more types of leisure-related employment provide benefits to an economy through salaries, among other ways.

The positive impact of leisure on an economy can also be found in taxes and other governmental fees. Local, state or provincial, and federal revenues through taxes paid in connection with leisure contribute significantly to the economic health of a society. Each year, for example, the National Endowment for the Arts in the U.S. allocates millions of dollars in federal tax money to be used as matching funds by local arts organizations. The sources of these funds include sales taxes from the purchase of leisure goods and services, income taxes on wages earned in leisure-related jobs, property taxes on private and commercial leisure-oriented properties, and taxes on restaurant meals and hotel accommodations.

On the other hand, sometimes leisure results in costs rather than benefits to both an individual's finances and a community's economy. For example, there is often decreased productivity of workers around holidays, including the opening of baseball and hunting seasons; and financial headaches can also be caused by the seasonal nature of some forms of leisure businesses, such as beach and ski resorts. Also, leisure businesses are among the most susceptible to the whims of public taste. For example, by 2022, analysts estimate that 1 out of every 4 malls in the U.S. could be out of business, victims of not only increases in online shopping and a widening wealth gap but also of changing tastes (Sanburn, 2017).

Frequently, members of a community must pay high costs to solve leisure-related problems. For example, there are about 144.1 million dogs and cats in the U.S. (Humane Society, 2016), and the annual cost to taxpayers for dealing with strays and removing fecal waste from public places amounts to millions of dollars. As well, the U.S. Coast Guard comes to the rescue of an average of 114 people per day at a cost of $680 million annually (Fagin, 2009). A Coast Guard patrol boat costs $1,147 per hour to operate, and if the rescue requires the use of a C-130 turboprop plane, the bill increases to a rate of $7,600 an hour.

Further, unintentional injuries from leisure pursuits affect millions of people, costing millions of dollars to treat and millions more in lost wages, insurance payments, and lawsuits. For example, each year in the U.S., emergency departments treat more than 220,000 children aged 14 and younger for playground-related injuries costing over $1.2 billion (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2012).

What We Understand About Leisure, Work, and Economics

Leisure, work, and economics are instrumentally related. That is, each has an impact on the others. From reading this chapter, you should understand the following:

- Although work offers the rewards of money, self-esteem, personal interactions, and the sense of making a contribution to society, some people are dissatisfied with work. Therefore, should society place more emphasis on the values of leisure?
  Cite an example of how the values of leisure might be applied to the workplace.
- There are basically three ways of answering this. One view is pro-leisure and maintains work is a less desirable human condition and we need leisure to control or overcome its problematic effects.
  Based on the chapter discussion, describe the pro-leisure view of work and leisure.
- Another, and opposite, view is pro-work, holding that work is the natural state of humans and the role of leisure is in support of work.
  Based on the chapter discussion, describe the pro-work view of work and leisure.

- The third view is a neutral one, maintaining all is well with both work and leisure, and healthy people need the rewards and satisfactions from both.
  Based on the chapter discussion, describe the neutral view of work and leisure.
- Regardless of what it all means to society, and to us personally, the complicated web that is the leisure–work relationship has economic ramifications. For example, leisure is a mirror of a nation's level of economic development.
  Discuss the role of leisure in economic development with an example from your own experiences.
- Leisure is also affected by the type of economic system in a society.
  Select one of the economic systems discussed in the chapter and describe how it reflects leisure.
- Sometimes consumption itself is viewed as a leisure experience.
  What is the difference between leisure consumption and leisure consumerism?
- Leisure has both positive and negative economic consequences.
  Cite at least two positive and two negative economic consequences of leisure.

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CHAPTER 12
The Freedom and Tyranny of Time

How do we know what time it is?

People view time according to their individual perceptions. Time perception is a construction in our minds that is manipulatable under different circumstances.

What time measurement types do we use?

There are many, including cyclical, mechanical, biological, and cultural time.

How does leisure depend on time?

Leisure is shaped by many time factors, including personal ideas about free time, the amount of time available, the time requirements of activities, and the time sufficiency of a culture.

Is time ever a problem for leisure?

While free time itself is a leisure definition, time can be problematic for leisure in modern societies because of tyrannies such as time urgency, time deepening, and even time-saving devices.



The photograph that opens this chapter is of the painting *The Persistence of Memory* (1931) by Salvador Dali. Dali (1904–1989) was a Spanish born surrealist painter known for his striking and bizarre images. Some art scholars believe that Dali's "melting clocks" painting symbolizes Albert Einstein's theory of relativity published in the early 1900s. Through the theory, Einstein proposed a new concept of time as being relative and complex, not something fixed or easily tracked with a gadget, such as a clock (see Redd, 2017). With Dali's sense of humor, then, the clocks in the painting are perhaps losing their power, melting away, and thus anything but "persistent." Dali painted many versions of melting clocks and watches, and different art scholars have challenged each other over their meanings. When Dali himself was asked, he claimed the clocks were simply inspired by Camembert melting in the sun (Pons, Ubeda, & Marquès, 2008)!

Regardless of your own interpretation of this painting, time is indeed a relative and abstract concept. There is no price for time. It is totally perishable and cannot be stored. The supply of time is inelastic. Time is always in short supply, and there is no substitute for time. Time is running out. Time is an hour ago, yesterday, last week, and last year—all at once! Everything requires time. Yet, even though people take the idea of time very seriously, most people simultaneously take it for granted (Drucker, n.d.). Writing in the first century, even Seneca (an ancient Roman philosopher) was startled by how little people seemed to value their lives as they were living them—how busy everyone seemed to be, how wasteful of their time. "Life is long if you know how to use it," he counseled (Seneca, 2005).

So what is time? People ascribe all kinds of actions to it. For example, we make time, make good time, hoard time, save time, waste time, take time, spend time, kill time, and of course, do time. At a party, we have had a good time or a bad time. There is summer time, nap time, supper time, time travel, and of course, Miller time. Time flies and, time is money! And, as studied in Chapter 4, leisure is also free time.

However, in studying the relationship between leisure and time, we will discover there is much more to it than time free for leisure. Time not only is the "container" for leisure expressions but also what makes leisure both possible and impossible. In this chapter, we will first compare the types of time and their leisure significance. Then, we will directly address whether leisure and time can be said to be compatible (Figure 12.1).



Figure 12.1. Many pastimes are very time conscious. For example, American football is played by the clock. The game clock is a total of 60 minutes, out of which only 12 to 15 minutes contain playing. And a soccer game is 90 minutes long. At the end of each 45-minute half, the referee is able to add any number of additional minutes of play at his or her discretion!

Types of Time

Many things affect leisure and time. One of them is the concept of time itself, so we begin here as a means of establishing a foundation. Most often, we think of time as clock time. That is, time is measured as seconds, minutes, and hours. Also, we typically refer to the weeks, months, years, decades, centuries, millennia, and so on of the calendar as time. Yet these are not the only ways that we can measure time. For example, there is universal time, international atomic time, sidereal time, terrestrial time, and Barycentric Dynamical Time.

Time provides us with a measure of change by putting dates on moments, fixing the durations of events, and specifying which events happen before which other events. For all this to happen, some

method of time measurement is needed. And clock time has not always been the measuring standard. We will trace this by comparing cyclical, mechanical, biological, and cultural time.

Cyclical Time

Our legacy of telling time began with **cyclical time**. Ancient cultures such as Incan, Maya, Hopi, Babylonian, and Greek understood time as a wheel. That is, they considered time as part of the reoccurring patterns of nature: the rising and setting of the sun, the tide coming in and going out, the changing of the seasons, and the location of the moon in the sky (Green, 1968). Many philosophical traditions are based on the concept that time is circular. For example, the Hindi philosopher Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan wrote everything accepts "the view of the great world rhythm. Vast periods of creation, maintenance and dissolution follow each other in endless succession" (as cited in Baggini, 2018, p. 3).

Cyclical time: Time experienced as constant and returning

The earliest calendars reflect this cyclical notion of telling time. Their original purpose was to show how many days until a certain important event takes place, such as the harvest or a religious festival. These early calendars had strong geographical influences, as in colder regions the concept of the year was determined by the seasons, specifically by the end of winter. But in warmer regions, where the seasons are less pronounced, the moon became the basic unit for calendar time reckoning. Most of the oldest calendars were, therefore, lunar calendars, based on the time interval from one new moon to the next—a so-called lunation. In some areas, however, other natural recurring events, such as the flooding of the Nile River, formed the calendar.

As best we know, about 5,000 years ago, the great civilizations in the Middle East and North Africa began to perceive time differently. With emerging bureaucracies, these cultures apparently found a need to organize their time more efficiently. Instead of observing the moon, changes in seasons, and passing of day into night, they invented devices to more systematically measure the passage of time.

For example, the Egyptians were probably the first to divide their day into equal, regular parts. Obelisks (slender, tapering, four-sided monuments) were built as early as 3500 BC. Their moving shadows formed a kind of sundial, helping people partition the day into morning and afternoon. A few hundred years later, the Egyptians are credited with the invention of the water clock. Called clepsydras (water thieves), these were stone vessels with sloping sides that allowed water to drip out a small hole near the bottom, making it possible to tell time at night (Figure 12.2).



Figure 12.2. A contemporary water clock is in the atrium of the Indianapolis Children's Museum. Thirty feet tall, containing blue liquid that fills hour and 2-minute interval globes every twelve hours, the timepiece is a central attraction for the museum. Source: Indianapolis Children's Museum, Indiana.

Today, some world cultures still live according to cyclical time. For example, the Maasai, a nomadic culture of Kenya, do not compartmentalize time into minutes and hours but instead schedule time by the rising and setting sun and the feeding of their cattle. The typical Maasai day begins just before sunrise, when the cattle go to the river to drink. This period is called "the red blood period" because of the

color of the sunrise. The afternoon is "when the shadows lower themselves." The evening begins when the cattle return from the river. Seasons and months are determined by rainfall—a particular month lasts as long as the rains continue and a new month does not begin until the rains have ceased (Neuliep, 2011).

If we were all able to experience cyclical time today, it would mean we would sense that time is never lost or wasted, because just like the cycles of life, time repeats itself. Likely, we would have no concept of needing to get control over time; we would feel no responsibility for it. Life would not be thought of as a progression to the end.

Mechanical Time

It was not until the 14th century that mechanical clocks were developed (Priestly, 1968), but it took until the 17th century for Dutch scientist Christiaan Huygens to invent the balance wheel and spring assembly still found in some watches today. This improvement allowed portable clocks to keep accurate time to within 10 minutes a day—a feat increasingly important, first for the daily prayer and work rituals of monks in medieval monasteries and later as a tool for industrialists to regulate the flow of production.

With the invention of the mechanical clock, people's perception of time changed. Now set to the rhythm of a machine, and not nature, time became linear. This meant time could pass, and when it passed, it could not be recovered. Unlike cyclical time, a linear notion of time meant it could no longer be accumulated—it could only be spent and wasted. Time was now a resource to be used wisely.

Mechanical time: Time paced by machine, enabling a precise division of the day into equal parts and a linear perception of its passing

Referred to as **mechanical time**, it demanded precision, punctuality, and reliability. Time was now vital to furthering a work-focused civilization (Cross, 1990). As the American statesman Benjamin Franklin (1932) recognized (originally in *Poor Richard's Almanac*, 1733–1757), "Do not squander time, for that's the stuff of life."

Box 12.1 Web Explore

Exploring World Clock Time

There are many fun tools available on the Internet to appreciate mechanical time around the world. Try these for starters:

http://www.timeanddate.com/worldclock/

http://www.timeanddate.com/countdown/newyear

http://www.timeanddate.com/time/map/

https://24timezones.com/#/map

This transition to mechanical time gained tremendous momentum with the Industrial Revolution (1760–1840). Minutes and seconds became a pervasive measurement of time for the common person. The rise of manufacturing regimented time with worker output. Since productivity was king, time translated to money, and when time became money, our relationship to leisure also changed. Leisure was the respite time required for people to return to productivity (Pinsker, 2017).

To this day, technology and the belief in the regularity of mechanical time have continued to sever our ties with nature. Lights and heating and cooling systems that turn on and off according to clock timers have eliminated the need for paying attention to natural daily and seasonal cycles. Digital alarms wake us up in the morning, even if sunrise is still hours away. Wristwatches beep out the minutes it takes us to jog around the block. It is said that the future will even bring us nail watches—digital displays of time glowing from our fingernail. Today, we live by completely artificial distinctions of time.

This inauthenticity has been extended, of course, by the rhythm of another machine—the computer. The computer works with the nanosecond as the basic time unit. At a billionth of a second, it is the measure of read or write access time to random access memory (RAM). Obviously, then, a computer-driven concept of time speeds us up. Whereas the circle represented time for ancient peoples, and the straight line suggests society's experience of time since then, the double helix is considered the time shape of the future (Rifkin, 1987). This spiral, with its feedback loops, suggests a computer-driven time experience that is not only linear but also simultaneous (which may help explain multitasking).

Further, sitting in front of computers, tablets, and smartphones all day, we are constantly confronted by a clock telling us what time it is. An overabundance of this can take us out of both the past and the future and into a state of heightened "present hedonism" in which we are constantly focused on what is either right in front of us or coming immediately afterward (Gregoire, 2014). "It's really minimizing the quality of life—the joy that we ought to be getting from everyday life" (Zimbardo & Boyd, 2008). Accordingly, here are three things psychologists suggest about the effects of online technology on our perception of time (Gregoire, 2014; Zimbardo & Boyd, 2008):

1. Being Internet connected can speed up your sense of time. It creates a personal "time zone," which creates a need for immediacy.
2. It can trap us in the next moment. We are not fully in the present because we are also anticipating the next moment.
3. The present orientation can make us more susceptible to instant gratification. We live in a time of temptation, and not being future-oriented harms our ability to act in the interest of more long-term goals.

Shifts in measuring time from cyclical nature to arbitrary machines are perhaps the most important changes in human life so far. The first to call our attention to the implications of our time perceptions for leisure was Sebastian de Grazia (1962) in a classic study *Of Time, Work, and Leisure*. "Clock time cannot be free," claimed de Grazia, and "because of this, few of us will ever experience the sublime state of leisure" (p. 310). More on this a little later in the chapter.

Biological Time

However, we also experience other types of time that are able to put us more in touch with freedom in our daily lives. For example, we also live according to biological time. One source, photoperiodism, is an organism's (plants and animals) response to the length of day or night. Another example is endogenous rhythms, which are also common to many plants and animals, including humans.

These **endogenous rhythms** are cyclical physiological functions. For example, the heart beats about 60 to 100 times per minute (highly trained athletes may have resting heart rates below 60). Hunger occurs on about a 90-minute cycle, with interest in sweet, salty, starchy food having their own rhythm. Endogenous rhythms prepare our bodies for forthcoming events: Increases of the hormone melatonin after darkness prepares us for sleep, and increases in deep body temperature in the morning heralds wake-up time. However, because we have become so dependent on external factors of timekeeping, such as the clock, computer, and television, we are not always able to experience time according to our endogenous rhythms.

Endogenous rhythms: Time generated within an organism

Circadian clock: Daily rhythm of activity and rest; our master body clock

For example, one endogenous rhythm that is problematic today is the daily rhythm of activity and rest. This relies on our **circadian clock**, a cluster of nerves located on the hypothalamus in the brain, which tells time according to environmental cues—primarily light from the day–night cycle. Although unique for each of us, a typical single circadian cycle of activity and rest ranges between 20 and 28 hours.

Many studies have demonstrated that when we live according to our circadian clock, we feel better. One reason is our natural circadian rhythm is experienced as comfort, even pleasure. This is also why we particularly appreciate rhythmic experiences such as music and poetry. Paying attention to our internal circadian clock also means we can be at our best. For example, elite athletes have used circadian rhythm charting to help predict peaks in performance.

External interference with our "master clock" (Figure 12.3) is called *circadian disruption*. Jet lag is a common example. Also, exposure to standard white or blue lighting at night (e.g., from a TV or tablet screen) is at odds with our natural internal body clock; it suppresses the body's natural secretion of melatonin by about 22%, which regulates our sleep–wake cycle, metabolism, and immune system (Wood, Rea, Plitnick, & Figueiro, 2013). This interruption of our normal internal rhythm puts us at risk for behavioral and physiological issues such as obesity, diabetes, some cancers, and mood disorders (Zhu & Zee, 2012). As well, proper lighting during daylight hours is important for promoting the release of cortisol and other hormones that improve alertness, awareness, and energy (Zuker, 2018).



Figure 12.3. Within the "master clock," people's body rhythms tend to fit into one of three general categories called chronotypes. These are early, intermediate, and late. A person's category is determined by a combination of genetic, environmental, and social factors. In other words, there is a biological reason why some people cannot sleep late and others cannot wake up early. According to this diagram, when is the best time for fitness activities? Image Source: Zuker, 2018.

Cultural Time

Another type of time is cultural time. That is, our social groups tell us what time it is, and there are differences. For example, at U.S. colleges, if a professor is late to class, how long students feel they should wait varies depending on their campus culture.

Another example is cultural differences on punctuality. Punctuality is somewhat flexible in Spain; it is normal to run 15 to 20 minutes late. In Indian culture, punctuality is even lower on the list of importance. Here, personal relationships are considered more important than efficient use of time, so staying late at work to help a colleague would trump being on time for dinner after work. Meanwhile, the Japanese revere punctuality. You should arrive 10 minutes early for meetings and appointments. Thirty seconds late is still late (Haan, 2018).

These examples corroborate that time is not experienced the same in every culture. Basically, there are two types of social groups in regard to approaching time. From a cultural perspective, there are

monochronic and polychronic groups. First understood by cultural anthropologist Edward Hall in 1959, **monochronic groups** of people prefer to complete one task at a time. For them, task-oriented time is important. They value punctuality, keeping schedules, and completing tasks. They view time as linear, that is, one event happening at a time. Examples of monochronic cultures include the U.S., Canada, Germany, and Switzerland. On the other hand, **polychronic groups** of people are flexible about time schedules. They have a more socioemotional idea about time—that maintaining relationships and socializing are more important than completing tasks. For them, many things may happen at once. Latin America, the Middle East, and Africa are places where the polychronic orientation is more typical (Iowa State University Study Abroad Center, 2011).

Monochronic groups: Cultures in which time is organized sequentially; schedules and deadlines are valued over people

Polychronic groups: Cultures in which time is organized horizontally; people tend to do several things at once and value relationships over schedules

Waiting in line is one example of how this cultural time distinction manifests in leisure. Americans collectively spend at least 37 billion hours a year waiting (Stone, 2012), and they do it mostly by forming lines according to order of arrival. But this is not universal. For example, in Israel (a monochronic culture), even though people wait for buses by stubbornly resisting forming lines, when the bus comes, they board according to the first-come principle as if they had been in line all along. However, since France is a polychronic culture, people do not honor any aspect of first come, first served. At the airports in France, people form a large cone in front of the passport control desk and make progress toward the front by attaching themselves to its sides rather than to its end. Perhaps the most famous line is the one waiting to get into Wimbledon's 2-week tennis tournament. This "queue" comes with its own 30-page rulebook (a monochronic culture).

Indeed, the fact that forming waiting lines is unknown or approached differently across cultures was a fact missed by the Walt Disney Company when it opened Hong Kong Disneyland. For example, in the first few weeks of operation at the park in 2005, officials noticed specific differences between Hong Kong visitors and those from mainland China. Since about 25% of Hong Kong residents had already visited a Disney theme park in the U.S., they were better able to participate in the queuing system at the park. Visitors from mainland China, where only 1% had visited a Disney park, were unsure how the lines worked (Fountain, 2005).

Box 12.2
By the Numbers

The Average Life

A person with an average life span (79 years) spends his or her time primarily on these activities (Campbell, 2017):

26 years – sleeping
13 years and 2 months – time at work
8 years and 4 months – watching TV
7 years – trying to fall asleep
4 years and 6 months – eating
3 years and 1 month – holidays
3 years – social media
1 year and 4 months – exercising
1 year and 3 days – socializing
334 days – in school (Grades 1–12)
235 days – waiting in line
115 days – laughing
8 years and 2 months – everything else (having sex, commuting, cleaning, entertainment, child care, etc.)

Are Time and Leisure Friends?

Time is the most equally distributed of all resources—we all get the same number of hours a day. Yet time is also considered the scarcest and most fragile of our resources. None of us feel we have complete control over our time or that we ever have enough time.

Time has been a major subject of not only philosophy but also religion, sociology, anthropology, and the physical sciences, but defining it in a manner applicable to all fields of study has consistently eluded the greatest scholars. Even Aristotle, in the book *Physics*, asked the question, "In what sense, if any, can time be said to exist?" (as cited in Barnes, 1984, p. 369). Nonetheless, understanding time continues to be important in contemporary life. Why? Time has become the framework for all our behavior. For example, in the English language, the word is both a noun and verb. What is this paradox? The answer has something to do with how time and leisure relate.



Figure 12.4. Buying, selling, fixing up, maintaining, driving, and showing classic cars is a popular pastime, especially for baby boomers. How do you choose to use your free time? © Patricia D. Setser.

To begin, leisure certainly takes place in time, and although estimates vary, the majority of adults in developed societies have about 45 hours each week available for leisure (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2015), adding up to more than 4 months a year of free time. How do we experience all this free time? It depends (Figure 12.4).

Time used for leisure is essentially shaped by four factors:

- Personal perceptions of free time
- Personal amounts of free time
- The time needs of activities
- The time sufficiency of a culture

First, one basic distinction is time perception—our subjective experience, or sense, of time. This means leisure actions are influenced by perceptions of free time (Table 12.1). If people regard free time as a privilege, they are likely to use it for pursuits perceived to be personally beneficial or socially constructive. Others view free time as a chance for temporary escape from the physical and mental environment of work and daily routines. They regard it as an opportunity for getting away from it all. Still others see free time as neither a privilege nor an opportunity but as an empty space that, if left unfilled, becomes frightening. These people feel compelled from fear to keep busy, even in their free time. Finally, similar behaviors may arise from a perception of free time as a precious commodity. Stemming from feelings of guilt, this perception causes people to cram every spare moment with activity to be sure it is not wasted.

Table 12.1
Perceptions of Free Time

Free time perceived as:	Implications for leisure	Example
Privilege	Seek personally beneficial or socially constructive pursuits.	Volunteer to coach a youth basketball team.
Opportunity	A chance for temporary escape from work and daily routines.	Take a trip out of town for the weekend.
Empty Space	Feel compelled to be busy even in leisure.	Take a book with you to a musical concert.
Precious Commodity	Not wanting to waste free time.	Unable to spend the afternoon in a hammock.

Related to perceptions of free time, leisure as experienced in time also depends on the amount of free time we have. Whether the amount of free time people have is increasing or decreasing has been hotly debated because research findings on the question have conflicted. Yet, even without study findings, it is clear that some people have more free time than others. For example, notorious deficits in free time are typically ascribed to specific sectors of the population, such as married women who are employed outside the home with children living at home (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). The idea of **time famine** describes the condition of not having enough free time.

Time famine: Having insufficient free time

Box 12.3
The Study Says

Time Famine and Life Satisfaction

Many people living in modern societies feel they do not have enough time. But is having limited discretionary time harmful? In two large-scale data sets that included responses from 35,375 Americans, researchers tested the relationship between the amount of free time individuals have and their life satisfaction (Sharif, Mogilner, & Hershfield, 2019). The results suggested that while having too little free time is indeed linked to lower levels of life satisfaction, having more free time does not always translate to greater life satisfaction and can actually reduce it.

Leisure as experienced in time also depends on the amount of time an activity requires. For example, the game of Monopoly takes longer to play than dominos, and a game of basketball is longer lasting than a game of croquet. Indeed, one of the complications of contemporary society is that people are choosing shorter, less absorbing leisure activities to match shorter blocks of free time (Godbey, 2006).

As an illustration, the trend in vacations is multiple 3-day excursions spread throughout the year rather than the traditional 2-week trip in the summer. Another example is the game of golf. Golf has lost 5 million players in the last 10 years; 25 million golfers are likely to quit in the next few years (Preston, 2014). "And the 35-and-unders aren't even starting" (para. 2). Why? One complaint revealed in interviews is that the game takes too long—4 or more hours! Another illustration of adjustments to time famine is the increase in "bleisure" travel. According to a recent survey, 87% of business travelers say they are likely to mix business and leisure on the same trip (Huen, 2018).

Related, the concept of **temporal displacement** shows how people change the timing of specific leisure activities. Suppose boaters who in the past have frequented a particular lake become dissatisfied with the amount of boat traffic on that lake on weekends. If the

Temporal displacement: Altering the timing of events as reaction to adverse changes at a recreation site

boaters decide to switch their boating at the lake from weekends to weekdays, they have demonstrated temporal displacement. *Spatial displacement* is another way we can change an unsatisfying recreation situation. This involves changing the location of the activity, such as to a different lake. Research has demonstrated that temporal displacement is the more common way to avoid recreation conflicts (Hall & Shelby, 2000).

Finally, the expression of leisure in time is a function of how much time a culture has. Referred to as a culture's **time sufficiency**, the amount of free time available affects the general welfare of people. As Linder (1970) first noted, cultures can be categorized according to the amount of free time they have: a time surplus or time scarcity (Table 12.2).

Time sufficiency: Amount of free time available to a culture

Table 12.2
Cultural Time Sufficiency and Leisure

Distinction	Time surplus culture	Time scarcity culture
Time	Time rich; much free or idle time	Time poor; no or little free time
Wealth	Poor	Rich
Production	Low	High
Work	Not dependent on mechanical time; no time-related work stress	Highly dependent on mechanical time; time stress causes illness
Leisure	Many holidays; popular recreation activities occupy large time blocks; much spontaneity; little consumption of special equipment	Few holidays; popular recreation activities occupy small time blocks; less spontaneity; much consumption of special equipment

While you might find it surprising, the least developed cultures tend to have a free-time surplus. This is because production and income are low enough that large portions of time remain unused. In fact, in time-surplus cultures where hurrying is not necessary, rushing is considered a sign of rudeness and poverty of spirit (Robinson & Godbey, 1997). As a result, leisure tends to be more spontaneous, lengthy, relaxed, and frequent. Time-surplus cultures also tend to designate a larger number of days as holidays.

For more developed cultures, there is typically a time famine. When the drive for time efficiency is dominant, we transfer free time to active use and it becomes scarce. Rushing is a sign of importance (Figure 12.5). For countries with time scarcity, leisure is less spontaneous and convenience becomes the rationale for choosing activities. In a study investigating time and cultural complexity, Chick and Shen (2007) concluded that "technological advancement and societal development do not necessarily and naturally lead to benefits when it comes to leisure" (p. 30).



Figure 12.5. The reality TV show *The Amazing Race* makes a competition of traveling the world as quickly as possible. Source: CBS.

Box 12.4 In Profile

Slow Movements

In Japan, there is a slow business school. Italy has a slow cities movement. Spain has a network of siesta salons. Originating in Austria is the Society for the Deceleration of Time, which sets speed traps for pedestrians and opposes daylight savings time. The slow family movement, the slow home movement (including decelerated decor), slow science, slow fashion, and slow travel are taking hold worldwide (go ahead, Google them). People are resurrecting the art of doing things more slowly.

For example, originating in 1989 as a response to the arrival of the first McDonald's in Rome, Italy, the slow food movement is a fast-growing international organization with 100,000 members in 160 countries. Grouped in 1,500 local chapters called convivials, they develop activities, projects, and events at local, regional, and global levels. The cause is to counteract fast food and fast life, the disappearance of local food traditions, and people's dwindling interest in the food they eat, where it comes from, how it tastes, and how food choices affect the rest of the world.

Another example is slow television. Originating with the Norwegian Broadcasting Corporation (NRK) in 2009, slow television is extensive TV coverage of an ordinary event in its complete length. The first was NRK's broadcast of a 7-hour train journey. Perhaps inspired by an earlier example of a Yule Log burning all night, today's slow television includes episodes of knitting (13 hours), salmon swimming upstream (18 hours), and a reindeer migration (168 hours). As very popular television programming, it claims to offer an escape from fast-paced "eye candy" TV.

Time Tyrannies

Even though time is a potentially "free" resource for leisure, time and leisure are not always friends, and other disadvantages add to the woes. We will discuss time tyrannies such as time urgency, time deepening, and time-saving devices.

A truly contemporary condition, **time urgency** is a quickened pace of life—feeling rushed. It is to approach the day with speed and impetuosity. Although not everyone or not every culture experiences time urgency, according to the time diary studies of Robinson and Godbey (1997), the "always feel rushed" response on questionnaires has shown a gradual increase since 1965. More recently, only about 25% of Americans declared they almost never feel rushed (Pew Research Center, 2006).

Time urgency: Feeling rushed

People who perceive life in a time-urgent way engage in self-defeating behaviors and thoughts such as being excessively worried about schedules, keeping overly tight deadlines, and rushing when rushing is not necessary. Often called *hurry sickness*, time urgency means being unreasonably tied to the clock, which can ultimately reduce effectiveness with more errors and lower quality results (Ashworth, 2015).

Time urgency can be problematic for leisure. Consequences include participating hurriedly in an activity (visiting a park without getting out of the car) or substituting an activity that can be done more quickly (jogging instead of walking to complete the mileage faster). How much real pleasure and satisfaction can be attained from learning to play the guitar in three easy lessons, eating dinner in less than 10 minutes, or traveling to Bermuda in a weekend? Time urgency in leisure might mean spending only a few seconds in front of a painting in a museum or becoming irritated when previous players do not leave the squash court within a minute of your reserved time.

So what is the tyranny in time urgency? Beyond taking away your ability to savor the day, constantly being in a big hurry can kill you, according to numerous medical studies. For example, a study conducted at the University of California at San Francisco looked at 32 patients with heart disease. Thirteen of the patients exhibited symptoms of time urgency with accompanying episodes of decreased supply

of blood to the heart muscle. The stress felt by people with time urgency can also cause muscle pains, headaches, high blood pressure, irritable bowels, insomnia, phobias, depression, and anxiety. It can also weaken your immune system (Krishna, 2008).

Box 12.5 In Your Own Experience

Time Urgency Quiz

Instructions: Check whether you rarely, sometimes, or almost always experience each statement.

Statement	Rarely	Sometimes	Almost always
I seem to do my best work under pressure.			
I'm frustrated by the slowness of people around me.			
I hate to wait or stand in line.			
I always seem to be rushing between places, projects, and events.			
I eat lunch or other meals while I work or study.			
I find it difficult to linger at the table after eating.			
I measure my self-worth by quantitative accomplishments.			
I feel I am often racing against time.			
I often interrupt people when they are talking.			
I sometimes suffer from a "racing mind."			

Give yourself 1 point for every *rarely*, 2 points for every *sometimes*, and 3 points for every *almost always* response. Add up the points and compare your score:

10–16 points – you are easygoing and not experiencing time urgency.

17–23 points – you like a degree of pressure in life and may need to guard against a tendency toward time urgency.

24–30 points – high time urgency; take steps now to reduce it in your life.

Another time tyranny is time deepening. Originally based on Stefan Linder's 1970 idea about the harried leisure class (see Chapter 11), **time deepening** means doing more than one thing at a time to crowd a greater number of activities into the same amount of time (Godbey, 2003). For example, do you ever eat dinner, watch television, play a computer game, and text your friends all at the same time? How about working out at the gym while watching television or reading? I know few people who listen to music without doing other things concurrently, including cooking, socializing, driving, and jogging.

Time deepening: Doing multiple activities at the same time without fully experiencing any of them

Time deepening is capitalized on for the staging of mass sporting events: "Organizers . . . incorporate music and dance demonstrations, giveaways, contests and a variety of other ancillary activities that help attendees feel they are getting the most from their participation" (Scott, 2013, p. 114). Linder (1970) referred to this problem as *simultaneous consumption*. As the name indicates, this is "when a consumer tries to enjoy more than one consumption item at a time" (p. 79).

Because of our computer-paced understanding of time today, time deepening allows us to stack up activities as a way of making time "deeper." The notion of time deepening is the forerunner of today's multitasking behavior. Multitasking is simultaneously doing as many things as possible, as quickly as possible, preferably marshaling the power of as many technologies as possible (Figure 12..6).

Since the 1990s, scientists have conducted experiments on the nature and limits of human multitasking. It has been shown, for example, that we (like a computer processor) are not able to concentrate on multiple things at one time (Hallowell, 2007). Others have researched multitasking in specific domains, such as learning. For example, Mayer and Moreno (2003) concluded that it is difficult, and likely impossible, for us to learn new information while engaged in multitasking. Similarly, another study on the effects of multitasking on academic performance found that the use of Facebook and text messaging while studying are negatively related to student grades (Junco & Cotton, 2012). Recent state laws also attest to the risks of multitasking and prohibit use of electronic devices while driving.



Figure 12.6. Multitasking can be considered a form of self-interruption. Even in leisure it has become more common, and some testimonies indicate it continues into retirement (Smith, 2018).

Box 12.6 What Do You Say?

Multitasking Leisure

Studies have clearly demonstrated that when it comes to productivity, a lack of focus on only one task at a time is costly, not only to the results, but possibly to health and life as well. But what could possibly be the harm in multitasking leisure? After all, the goal of leisure is not productivity, but rather fun, enjoyment, pleasure, freedom, intrinsic reward, happiness, humor, and many other benefits. Here are examples of typical multitasked leisure expressions:

- Watching television and eating a meal
- Sending and receiving texts during a movie at the theatre
- Negotiating a business deal with other players during a round of golf
- Answering cell phone calls while eating in a restaurant with friends
- Listening to music while taking a walk in the forest
- Cooking a meal and answering e-mail

1. So what's the harm? Is multitasking advantageous or disadvantageous to leisure?
2. Are all the above examples equal in terms of their advantages or disadvantages? Why or why not?
3. Do you multitask during your leisure? If you do, how does it make you feel?

Finally, we will consider time-saving devices in terms of leisure. You, or at least your children, will never know what it was like to be able to say "the check is in the mail" or have the luxury to "get back to you about it tomorrow." With surface mail delivery, we had at least a few days to a few weeks to sort out an issue. Then along came the fax machine, which meant that a same-day response could be expected. E-mail reduced the required response time to a few hours. And instant messaging requires an immediate response!

The onset of the idea of a mechanical clock made efficiency truly possible in manufacturing and industry—it allowed for higher production at lower costs. *Efficiency* has become the watchword for time management strategies at work, with time-and-motion studies of organizational personnel and procedures revealing new ways to "work smarter." But this goal has steadily infiltrated other areas of life, including the home, for which "time-saving" devices such as the automatic dishwasher, microwave oven, and self-defrosting freezer have become widespread. So what is the reward of this efficient use of time?

A well-managed job is supposed to leave evenings, weekends, and holidays free for other activities. Thanks to time-saving devices in the kitchen, there should be ample time for family, community, civic, and leisure involvement. If we can more efficiently run our lives, then our leisure should be more time-rich and thus enjoyable. Right? Yet this promise has not been fulfilled. Why not?

One example of what has gone wrong is the concept of **micro-boredom**. Just a decade ago, monotonous moments were a fact of life. While standing in the checkout line at the grocer's, you could think of a funny incident from your day, and a commute home after school or work could inspire ruminations about evening plans. These brief times of doldrums provide some of life's most quintessentially human moments. But no more. Increasingly, these empty moments of time are being saturated with productivity, communication, and the distractions offered by an ever-expanding array of time-saving mobile devices. What we used to call downtime, we now increasingly fill with "mobisodes"(i.e., 2-minute-long television episodes made for the cellphone screen) or a fit of Twitter and Facebook to turn a mundane moment into busy activity.

Micro-boredom: Ever smaller slices of unoccupied time from which mobile technology offers an escape

Why have time-saving devices cost us our time? Why has the promise of more leisure from them gone unfulfilled? One reason is the Law of Unintended Consequences—unforeseen negative by-products that undermine the planned benefits. For example, a time-saving device such as the computer certainly increases the range of possible functions, but it also devours more of our time (and produces larger quantities of paper). To point, the relative ease and low expense of e-mail is proving to be an unexpected burden, as each morning the computer greets the office worker, teacher, and business manager with a large collection of messages that call for evaluation and urgent action.

What We Understand About Leisure and Time

Time and leisure are instrumentally related. That is, each affects the other. Time is not only the "container" for leisure expression but also what makes leisure both possible and impossible. From reading this chapter you should understand the following:

- The expression of leisure in time is a function of personal perceptions of free time, personal amounts of free time, the time requirements of pastimes, and the amount of free time available in a society.
  Discuss your own leisure interests and actions in terms of one of these functions.
- Cyclical time is the pace set by the rhythms of nature. In developed societies, it has been replaced by the concept of mechanical time—of life and leisure paced to the machine.
  Contrast cyclical time and mechanical time and imagine how life is different according to each.
- The computer is now setting an even faster and more artificial pace for life and leisure.
  Note examples of this possibility in your own life.
- Other types of time that affect our leisure are biological time and cultural time.
  Define biological time and cultural time. Then give an example of each.

- There are unique tyrannies to leisure from time, including time urgency, time deepening, and time-saving devices.

  Are you experiencing any of these time tyrannies in your own life? If so, which one(s). If not, why not?

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CHAPTER 13
Is Leisure Fair?

Is there equity in leisure?

No. Barriers exist in contemporary societies to full fairness of opportunity in leisure.

What are examples of where inequity in leisure exists?

There is discrimination in leisure for women, persons with disabilities, persons with diverse sexual and gender identities, immigrants, ethnic and racial minorities, and others.

Does leisure have the potential to enable equity?

Yes, indeed! Leisure is an important context for creating fair opportunities for a high quality of life for everyone.



Is leisure a right or a privilege (Figure 13.1)? Fundamental to discussing the fairness of leisure, this simple question illustrates the quandary. When leisure is viewed as a privilege, it is something to be earned. But leisure can also be viewed as a right—something that is as essentially human and as necessary as eating and sleeping. Thus, determining whether it is fair to charge fees to visitors to a national forest, or fair to prohibit women from joining a private country club, or fair for children who are abused in organized sport programs depends on the position of leisure as a right or a privilege.



Figure 13.1. Is leisure a right of all humanity or a privilege for those with means? © Patricia D. Setser, 2016.

As a privilege, leisure is distributed unequally. When defined as free time or activity, for example, leisure is often viewed as a reward and thus a privilege for those who have earned it. As a privilege, leisure is a prize available only to qualifying people. Sometimes, the qualifier is having enough money to pay for certain forms of leisure. Other times, it is the guilt-free sensation that, by the time the weekend is here, you have worked hard enough to take some time off.

As a right, on the other hand, leisure should be distributed equitably. Many societies believe in natural or inalienable rights—rights that are impossible to surrender. These are often described as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. With these rights comes a commitment to equality—everyone has the same right to a good life. Accordingly, societies provide services considered vital to experiencing leisure.

In this chapter, we take the position that leisure is a right. Given this, we first discuss how leisure both restricts and enables equity. Then, we illustrate this through the examples of women, ethnic and racial minorities, GLBTQ individuals, immigrants, and persons with disabilities.

Box 13.1 In Profile

Sport Team Mascots

What is your favorite sport team's mascot? Is it a bulldog, eagle, lion, longhorn steer, or cornhusker? Or maybe it is inspired by a Native American ethnic group, such as the Washington Redskins, Atlanta Braves, Edmonton Eskimos, Chicago Blackhawks, Florida State University Seminoles, or Central Michigan University Chippewas. There is considerable controversy over the use of ethnic group mascots because some view them as disrespectful and offensive. Most notably, the National Congress of American Indians has issued a resolution opposing continued usage of Native team names, mascots, and logos. Some tribal entities have issued resolutions opposing usage, as well.

Conversely, certain other tribes have granted permission to use their names for sport teams, as in the case of the Chippewas and Seminole tribes for Central Michigan University and Florida State University. Out of respect for the question of fairness in using ethnic group labels for mascots, some teams have voluntarily discontinued their use and selected other mascots. For example, after a protracted and bitter controversy over the logo "Illini" by the University of Illinois, the term has been removed from official university sanction, yet, unofficially, it is still widely used by students and fans.



Prohibitions and Permissions

Today in many contemporary societies, there exists discrimination of opportunity according to gender, race, ability, religion, income, age, nationality, and other distinctions. For example, "racism—blatant and covert—is alive and well" (Floyd & Stodolska, 2019, p. 81). In our increasingly multiethnic societies, the color line is no longer just black and white, as racism is playing out at many levels—including in recreation places such as parks and playgrounds.

Yet, on the other hand, of all the tools available to societies to create equity of opportunity, leisure is perhaps one of the most vital. Leisure can be a social change agent at individual, community, and societal levels (Lewis, Maxwell, & Hawkins, 2019). Leisure has the capacity to improve the human condition by challenging biases and stereotypes and thus creating opportunities for social justice. For example, a study of racial neutrality within digital and virtual leisure places reported that while Black persons sometimes feel discrimination and overt racism in recreation facilities, they also find that digital places of play counter and disrupt messages that perpetuate inaccurate stereotypes (Pinckney et al., 2018).

Thus, leisure is both a hurdle to **equity** and an enabler of equity. First, we will consider how leisure restricts equity—leisure as prohibition. You are already aware that, in general, certain pastimes are more likely to be pursued by people in certain age, gender, and other social groups. Is this by choice or prohibition?

Equity: Fairness

A way of demonstrating leisure as prohibition is to cite incidents against participation for certain groups. For example, a study by Livengood and Stodolska (2004) evaluating the post-9/11 experiences of Muslim immigrants to the U.S. from Middle Eastern countries found that discrimination affected their leisure experiences by restricting the range of available leisure options and playmates. In another study (Barnett, 2007), the experience of trying out for cheerleading and the dance team was measured for high school girls. Findings indicated significant differences in positive and negative emotions, classroom attendance and performance, and feelings about self and school according to whether the girls were admitted or not to these activities.

There are several ways we can consider such restrictions in leisure, including the conditions of discrimination and constraints. First, much has been studied and written about **discrimination**, because there are many categories of people, things, or ideas that have been both historically and currently discriminated against. For example, over the centuries, people with disabilities have often been stigmatized, overlooked, and judged because of the differences in their levels of functioning. Discrimination, in some cases, has been normalized whereby in different times, cultures, and societies, people with disabilities have even been killed because of the perception that they are a sign of evil (Barnes, 2010).

Discrimination: Prejudicial treatment of different categories of people, things, or ideas

In addition to the categories of people described more in depth later in this chapter, discrimination can include age, career, parental status, employment activity, body weight, hair color, political party, music taste, educational attainment, marital status, the way you hold your eating utensils, dog breed, and others.

Stodolska (2005) proposed a model to explain individual discriminatory behavior, including in leisure. The model consists of three decision-making stages:

1. An individual uses his or her own set of information to derive general beliefs about a group.
2. Then the individual combines these preexisting beliefs with any new information received to form an attitude signifying the degree of hostility toward the group at a particular time.
3. Finally, the individual weighs the internal benefits of discrimination against external consequences of such an action and chooses to act accordingly.

According to Stodolska's model, acting in a discriminatory way against others is an individual decision. Shaw (2005), on the other hand, proposed that discrimination is also a societal decision. Her point is that in addition to individual prejudices there are structural disadvantages experienced by certain groups. One source of societal structural disadvantage is power relations. Those who are discriminated against in leisure lack economic, social, and/or political power in the society. Shaw refers to this as a double discrimination. For those without societal power, leisure prohibitions pile on an additional disadvantage.

Another way we can think about prohibitions in leisure is through the concept of **constraints**. The investigation of leisure constraints has become a major focus in research over the past several decades. Essentially, the numerous studies start with the question, "Why do some people not participate in leisure in general or in particular activities for which they might have a desire?" For example, a study by Nadirova and Jackson (2000) found the single most constrained leisure situation was the inability to participate as often as one would like. In another study, Jun and Kyle (2011) explored the role of personal identity in constraints for golfers and concluded the "homemaker identity" was the most conflicting with the "golfer identity." Finally, a study by Stodolska, Shinew, and Camarillo (2019) found that for African American, Latinx, and Asian users and nonusers of recreation programs offered by a park district in the American Midwest, the constraints against participation were individual, interpersonal, and context. We will explore these sources of constraint a bit more.

Constraints: That which inhibits a leisure pursuit once an interest for it has been formed

A model has been developed to explain the concept of leisure constraints (Crawford & Godbey, 1987; Crawford, Jackson, & Godbey, 1991; Godbey, Crawford, & Shen, 2010). It suggests leisure participation is dependent on negotiating through a hierarchy of structural, intrapersonal, and interpersonal barriers. The model claims that intrapersonal constraints have to be overcome first, followed by interpersonal and then structural for people to participate in desired leisure expressions (Figure 13.2).

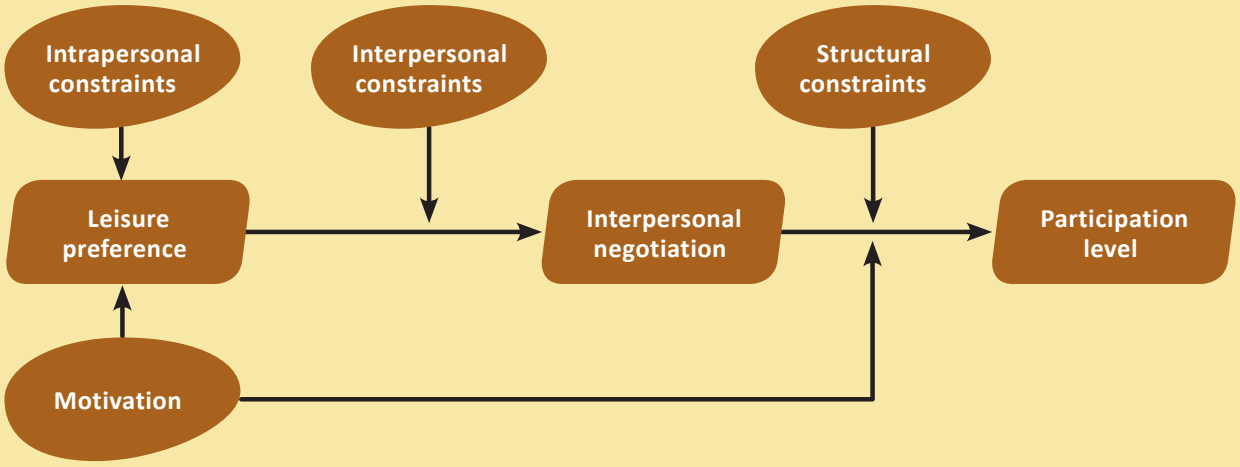


Figure 13.2. A model of the leisure constraints concept used in a study by Jackson et al. (1993).

As an illustration of this model, a study by Cho and Price (2018) found that in comparing the constraints of international and domestic students in U.S. universities against participating in intramural and competitive sports, international students had significantly higher intrapersonal (e.g., not understanding the rules of the sport) and structural (e.g., studying takes up most of the time) constraints to participate, while domestic students had significantly lower constraints of all types.

What are these constraint types? *Intrapersonal constraints* are personal psychological attributes that constrain leisure involvement. Our own perception of our abilities, personality needs, religious beliefs, and prior socialization typically are cited as intrapersonal leisure constraints. For example, if prior socialization suggests men do not participate in group fitness classes, a particular man may feel constrained in participating even if he has an interest. *Interpersonal constraints* are barriers arising out of social interaction with friends, family, and others. In a family, for example, interpersonal constraints may occur when spouses or partners differ in their leisure preferences (Jackson & Scott, 1999). Finally, *structural constraints* are typically architectural barriers, such as a recreation center that is inaccessible to a person using a wheelchair, or economic barriers, such as high fees charged for a youth sport program that prohibit children who are economically disadvantaged from signing up.

Box 13.2 In Your Own Experience

Why Haven't You Taken a Cruise?

Mark each statement according to how likely it is to keep you from taking a cruise this year. Use the scale agree, neutral, and disagree.

Statement	Agree	Neutral	Disagree
1. Taking a cruise would be too expensive for me.			
2. I have special needs that cannot be accommodated on a cruise ship.			
3. I'm not able to leave my school, work, and/or family.			
4. My friends and family members are not interested in taking a cruise.			
5. I don't feel comfortable in a boat on the water.			
6. Ocean cruising is just not my thing.			

Scoring: Items 1 and 2 represent structural constraints, Items 3 and 4 are interpersonal constraints, and Items 5 and 6 are intrapersonal constraints.

While leisure contains factors (e.g., discrimination and constraints) that prohibit equitable individual and community lives, it can also enable equity. In fact, leisure can be one of the most powerful forces for promoting equity. Leisure can be a means by which people who are homeless, unemployed, or migrant are incorporated into mainstream society. As well, community festivals can unify a widely diverse population through a common spirit of cooperation. And, as demonstrated every four years in the Olympic Games, leisure can call at least a temporary halt to international disagreements.

Ironically, the factors that prohibit equitable leisure also enable equitable leisure. That is, for leisure to work toward equity, it needs to reduce the social, psychological, and physical barriers by promoting different social, psychological, and physical advantages. For example, an approach for ensuring that leisure is in its best position to foster healthy individual and community life has been proposed by Dattilo (2018). It is based on facilitating

- social engagement by enhancing attitudes of respect, dignity, and positive contact among people;
- psychological involvement through self-determination; and
- physical access via universal design and adaptations.

We can harness the advantages of this approach in several ways to maximize the equity powers of leisure. These are inclusion, diversity, and pluralism. **Inclusion** suggests that leisure service organiza-

tions provide mechanisms for people who have special life conditions, such as a physical disability, to participate according to typical circumstances and to help them become as independent as possible by joining the mainstream of society. Inclusion means the involvement and full acceptance of all people within the wide range of community settings. According to Schleien, Green, and Stone (2003), inclusion involves three levels of acceptance ranging from a minimum physical level to an ultimate social level (Table 13.1).

Inclusion: Valuing all people regardless of their differences

Table 13.1
A Continuum of Leisure Inclusion

Level 1: Physical	Level 2: Functional	Level 3: Social
Access to buildings and programs.	Opportunities to be successful within buildings and programs.	Full and positive interactions with others through participation in activities.

Another concept that speaks to the ability of leisure to create equity—**diversity**—seems to be the antithesis of inclusion. A major conclusion from the most recent U.S. Census is that diversity has increased. For example, more than half of the growth in the U.S. population between 2000 and 2010 was because of an increase in the Latinx population, rising from 35.3 million in 2000 to 50.5 million in 2010 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2010). Beyond diversity of race and ethnicity, Americans are more different from one another than ever before in terms of family type, household income, lifestyle, political beliefs, and other qualities.

Diversity: Celebrating differences in people

As a result, it is important that we support and protect diversity, because by valuing the mosaic of differences in individuals and groups, and by fostering a climate where mutual respect is intrinsic, we create a better society for everyone. We can do this by way of **pluralism**—peaceful coexistence and interaction among people with different beliefs, customs, and lifestyles. For example, in 1971, the Canadian government referred to cultural pluralism, as opposed to multiculturalism, as the "very essence" of their nation's identity. In a pluralist culture, groups not only coexist side by side but also consider qualities of other groups as traits worth having in the dominant culture.

Pluralism: A form of society in which minority groups maintain their independent cultural traditions

Sport is a ready source of examples of pluralism in leisure. For example, many sport teams accommodate training and scheduling to the fasting customs of athletes who are Muslim. Muslim athletes should fast from sunrise to sunset each day throughout the 30 days of Ramadan (Maughan, Zerguini, Chalabi, & Dvorak, 2012), and many teams make arrangements around this so as to not endanger the athletes' health.

As another example, in July 1996, the deciding game of the U.S. Cup was played in the Rose Bowl stadium in Pasadena, California. The contest matched the U.S. and Mexican national soccer teams with important stars from both countries (Gramann & Allison, 1999). More than 98,000 spectators packed the stadium. Was this a testimony to a rising popularity of soccer in a traditionally non-soccer-playing country? Yes, in part, but this is not all of the explanation, because most of the fans were cheering for Mexico. Because of a large Mexican American population living in southern California, it was a home game for Mexico. In other words, the sport of soccer was able to maintain and even strengthen group identity within a diverse society. Latino cultural traditions were celebrated that day.

Examples

There are many more examples of how leisure is both a barrier to and an enabler of equity. To illustrate further the concepts of discrimination, constraints, inclusion, diversity, and pluralism, we will now focus on immigrants, women, persons with disabilities, persons with diverse sexual and gender identities, and racial and ethnic minorities.

Immigrants

Every day people around the world make the difficult decision to leave their countries in search of better lives. Some of them are immigrants who wish to take up permanent residence in a destination where they do not have citizenship. Some are asylum seekers and refugees who have been forced to flee their homes because of war or violence, often without warning. They cannot return home until the dangers have subsided in their home country.

Box 13.3 In Profile

Is There Play in the Camps?

A special case of people in transit is refugees. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (2019), there are 25.9 million refugees in the world. Most come from Syria (6.7 million, the largest refugee crisis of all time), Afghanistan (2.7 million), and South Sudan (2.3 million); about half are children. Most live in refugee-designated camps.

Is there play in the camps? Yes, there is, often against all odds. Toys and sports are always present. If there is not a ball, someone will make one out of old clothing, plastic, or whatever is in the trash. An old shipping container may be converted to a space with books and toys. Impromptu, children make human chains, leap over each other, and lead each other in singing.

In some camps, there are playgrounds adjacent to the "learning centers," and in the larger camps, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) offer organized sport programs for children. For example, in 2017 the International Olympic Committee (IOC) established the Olympic Refuge Foundation to "support the protection, development and empowerment of children and youth in vulnerable situations through sport" ("Olympic Refuge Foundation," para. 2). The world's largest NGO, BRAC, provides "play labs" in 513 different camps, with cosponsorship from the LEGO and Clinton foundations.



A Syrian refugee child in a camp on the border with Jordan.

For **immigrants**, the choice to leave is usually voluntary based on a variety of reasons. One theory suggests the motivation comes from both push and pull factors (National Geographic, 2019). Push factors usually refer to economic reasons, such as the country of origin is unable to provide for sufficient labor options or wage rates. For example, if the wages in the new country are higher than the wages in one's native country for the same work, people will consider leaving. As well, some immigrants move to a new destination because of a lack of local resources or simply because they wish to seek a better standard of living. Noneconomic push factors include religious and political persecution, abuse, oppression, ethnic cleansing, natural disasters, and war and genocide.

Immigrants: People who come to live permanently in a different country

Common pull factors are categorized under personal reasons: family reunification, transnational marriage, preferred lifestyle, and so on. There is also retirement- and climate-induced immigration. For

example, the U.S. Social Security Administration reported it is now sending checks to almost 700,000 Americans living in other countries. That is an increase of 40% over the past 10 years (Barrett, 2018). For Americans, among the most popular retirement destinations are Argentina, Australia, Belize, Chile, Croatia, France, Ireland, and Costa Rica. More than 120,000 mostly retired Americans are currently living in Costa Rica, for example (U.S. Department of State, 2018).

As of 2015, the number of international immigrants had reached 244 million worldwide, a 41% increase since the year 2000 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2015). One third of the world's immigrants are living in just 20 countries. The largest number live in the U.S. (19% of the world's total). Germany and Russia host 12 million immigrants each, and Saudi Arabia hosts 10 million, followed by the United Kingdom with 9 million. Today, Asia and Europe are adding immigrants to their populations at the fastest rate (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, 2015).

Particularly in the U.S. and Europe, research has found extensive evidence of discrimination against foreign-born populations. These biases appear within the criminal justice systems, business, housing, health care, education, the media, and politics (Rich, 2014). However, research also suggests that immigration is beneficial (including economically) to both the receiving and sending countries (Ahmed, Go, & Willenbrockel, 2016). For example, some economists have argued that reducing barriers to immigration motivated by seeking better work between developing countries and developed countries would be one of the most efficient tools of world poverty reduction (Mishra, 2014).

Does immigration discrimination exist within leisure places and events? Upon immigrating to the U.S., for example, many people discover that leisure is more commercialized than in their home countries (Stodolska & Camarillo, 2018). In one study, Mexican and Polish teenagers revealed that as newcomers they now wished to purchase leisure-related items previously unavailable to them (Stodolska & Yi, 2003). But many were unable to participate in the U.S. youth culture because they could not afford these items (e.g., cars, electronics).

Discrimination experienced from peers, teachers, and recreation leaders is an additional obstacle to immigrant youths' adjustment and their ability to take part in and enjoy leisure activities (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). Racist incidents are particularly pronounced among younger teens (being ridiculed, name-calling, fighting; Stodolska & Yi, 2003). Another example of discrimination in leisure for immigrants is that some people hold the perception that Asian people will not excel in contact sports or that they may be physically weaker than their Caucasian and African American counterparts, which may lead to them being offered fewer opportunities to play (Lee & Stodolska, 2017).

Lack of familiarity with leisure activities, sports, and games typical of North American culture and a lack of competency in the English language are other constraints typical for immigrants to the U.S. (Whitley, Coble, & Jewell, 2016). These constraints can lead to fear, confusion, lack of confidence, and feelings of isolation and marginalization. Therefore, newcomers tend to socialize with other immigrants in their school and neighborhoods. For undocumented immigrants, there are additional barriers to leisure, including fear of deportation, which makes them less willing to interact with coaches and recreation personnel or to participate in festivals and mass leisure events.

Yet participation in sport and recreation can also help immigrants develop a sense of mastery, positive self-identity, self-concept, and self-esteem. Leisure holds the possibility of giving them a positive challenge and an opportunity to be good at something and feel they have control over things that happen in their lives (Doherty & Taylor, 2007). Participation in recreation and sports is often a way for particularly young immigrants to develop social relationships and make new friends (Doherty & Taylor, 2007), which can minimize their feelings of social exclusion in schools.

Sport and recreation, on the other hand, can also lead to negative consequences. Spaaij (2015), for instance, argued that

> any generalised claim that sport is a mechanism for 'good settlement' is contentious because sport is not necessarily inclusive, but is also used to differentiate and exclude. The social and cultural norms that organised sports embody may potentially lead newcomers or minorities to feel alienated or marginalised. While playing sport can in some cases contribute to a sense of social integration . . . it can also have the opposite effect of exposing participants to social exclusion, racism, and cultural resistance, which may lead them to abandon sport or to segregate themselves into separate clubs or leagues. (p. 304)

Women

"The woman" has played many roles throughout history: mother, daughter, lover, mate, friend, and elder care giver. She has also been prime minister, farmer, CEO, artist, astronaut, and scientist. Today women combine many of these roles, yet through the centuries almost every society has developed definite ideas about what behaviors are appropriate for women. Some of these ideas have disappeared or changed greatly over time, but others have changed little or not at all and are discriminatory (Figure 13.3).

What is the meaning of leisure for women? In developed countries, the differences between men's and women's use of leisure have narrowed. For example, groups of women now enjoy girls' nights out in the same places frequented by groups of men, and men and women spend generally the same number of hours watching television every day (Roberts, 2010). So how has leisure been both prohibition and permission for women? One ready source of illustration is again in sports.

In the U.S., female athletic participation has surged since the enactment in 1972 of Title IX. This law mandated equal federal funding opportunities for male and female students in education, resulting in tremendous growth in the number of girl and women athletes in high schools and colleges. Before Title IX, only 1 in 27 girls played in sports; today, that number is 2 in 5 (Women's Sport Foundation, 2011a, 2011b). Not only are more girls and women playing sports, but they are also more involved as sports spectators. For example, U.S. women make up about 45% of the fan base for the National Football League (NFL), Major League Baseball (MLB), National Basketball Association (NBA), and NASCAR (Sport Business Research Network, 2014).

Yet data also suggest that when women attempt to further their sport consumption and participation, they may still be met with indifference or resistance. For example, female high school and college athletes continue to receive fewer resources (e.g., scholarships, uniforms, and facilities), when compared to male high school and college athletes, and significant salary gaps exist between coaches of women's and men's collegiate teams (Women's Sport Foundation, 2011a; Ross, 2015). Ultimately, even though the Title IX law overwhelmingly achieved its initial objective, today it remains more culturally controversial than ever before (Melnick, 2018).



Figure 13.3. A women's bicycle racing team at Indiana University's "Little 500," a shorter version of the men's race, which was founded in 1951. Women's teams have raced each other since 1988. Does this "separate but almost equal" program demonstrate equity for women's leisure? Courtesy: Indianapolis Star.

Another way we can answer how leisure has been both prohibition and permission for women is via the concept of feminism. **Feminism** is an intellectual commitment as well as a political movement that seeks equity for everyone, regardless of gender. There are many interpretations of feminism and disagreements about what ought to be done about it, but basically topics in feminism include the body, work, family, and popular culture. Within the past 30 years, a growing topic in feminism has been leisure.

Feminism: The belief in and action toward political, economic, and social equality for men and women

In feminism, ideas of empowerment and social change are central. This is particularly poignant because both feminism and leisure are based on the qualities of choice and freedom. Yet, in many societies today, and in the past, leisure for women has itself been constrained because of a lack of empowerment and social action. This conclusion can be demonstrated through a quarter century of research on women in developed cultures.

That is, our understanding about women's leisure has evolved through research that asks progressively more and deeper critical questions. Earlier studies (1980–1989) revealed several initial understandings. According to an integrative review of research studies from that period (Henderson, 1990), leisure provided for women an opportunity to share a "common world." That is, leisure settings and activities helped women be with others who shared their concerns. Other research revealed these concerns to include unstructured and fragmented leisure squeezed into brief time blocks around role and home obligations, fewer leisure opportunities for women compared with men, and feelings of not deserving time off for themselves.

Later, another review of research studies on women and leisure published from 1990 through 1995 debunked the common world of leisure idea and revealed there are instead multiple meanings of leisure for women (Henderson, 1996). That is, there is a wide diversity among women who live in developed cultures about what leisure is and is not for them. This also broadened the feminist discussion to include what leisure can do for not only women but also men. In the later 1990s, studies broadened even further to include questions of race, social class, and age as related to gender and leisure.

According to a more recent review of research on women and leisure (Henderson & Hickerson, 2007), our understanding has transitioned from itemizing prohibitions on women's expression of leisure to acknowledging what needs to be done about it. For the most part, studies carried out between 2000 and 2006 focused on how the benefits of leisure can overcome the constraints against it. For example, a study by D. Anderson, Bedini, and Moreland (2005) described the benefits of physical activity for girls with disabilities and how these benefits mitigated some of the constraints these girls faced because they were girls. In another study (Iwasaki, MacKay, & Mactavish, 2005), leisure was confirmed to be a means for addressing stress for women through coping.

Finally, an integrative review of studies published in 2013 (Henderson & Gibson), covering research published from 2006 to 2010, found both new and recurring content. Currently, themes for questions related to women and leisure include resistance and empowerment, international cultural distinctions, social support and friendships leisure, social inclusion, the family, and physical and mental health.

This trajectory of research progress in leisure for women is culture specific. The balance of prohibition and permission is not always so evolutionary. For example, a study of Iranian women concluded that women had constraints due to the lack of opportunities within their communities. As well, specific cultural prohibitions based on traditional views, along with economic and personal home expectations, were rated as more constraining to their leisure (Arab-Moghaddam, Henderson, & Sheikholesclami, 2007).

Box 13.4 What Do You Say?

Gendered Toys?

In 2012, Hamleys (London's 251-year-old toy store) dismantled its pink girls and blue boys sections in favor of a gender-neutral store. Rather than floors dedicated to Barbie dolls and action figures, merchandise is now organized by types (soft toys) and interests (outdoor). Meanwhile, and in that same year, LEGO launched a $40 million marketing campaign for its new Friends collection. The line featured new, pastel-colored blocks that allow a budding Kardashian to build herself a café or a beauty salon (Orenstein, 2012). So who has it right? Can equity be better achieved with gender-neutral or gender-specific toys?

1. Should gender be systematically expunged from playthings? Why or why not? Do some research and learn what other retailers, say, Target, are doing.
2. Do the sexes play differently? Studies suggest, for example, that children of both sexes appreciate stuffed animals and books, so should these types of playthings be gender neutral?
3. Traditionally, toys were intended to communicate parental values and expectations and to train children for their future adult roles. Does this add or subtract from a conclusion that toys should be gender neutral? How?

Persons With Disabilities

One billion people, or 15% of the world's population, experience some form of disability, with disability prevalence higher in developing countries. Further, of this estimated global total between 110 million and 190 million people experience significant disabilities (World Bank, n.d.). For example, of the 5.8 million Americans with the progressive and fatal brain disease Alzheimer's, life will increasingly be experienced as problems with memory, thinking, and behavior severe enough to affect work, lifelong hobbies, and social life (Alzheimer's Association, 2019).

A variety of **disabling conditions** are included in these statistics. The largest number involves limiting basic physical activities, such as walking, climbing stairs, reaching, lifting, or carrying. Other conditions include sensory, such as sight or hearing, as well as cognitive and emotional, which affect abilities to learn, concentrate, get along with others, and live independently. Actually, *disabilities* is an umbrella term not only covering impairments and limitations but also societal responses. These societal responses are both positive and negative and can be found in medicine, education, government, and other areas, including leisure services.

Disabling conditions: A physical, sensory, and/or mental condition that substantially limits one or more life activity

A disability is sometimes considered a "personal tragedy"—something that ruins a person's hopes and capabilities of having a meaningful, self-fulfilling, enjoyable life, driven by their own wants, desires, and interests (Oliver, 1996). Therefore, it has been easy for people within society to place the power of judgment on individuals with disabilities (Oliver & Barnes, 2012).

Box 13.5 Web Explore

What Does Disability Mean?

To understand more fully the role of leisure in the lives of persons with a disability, check out these talks presented at TED conferences:

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YyBk55G7Keo

http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dTwXeZ4GkzI

Disabling conditions cut across age, race, social class, gender, income, and educational backgrounds. But, as you know, leisure experiences and participation can provide unique and valuable opportunities that may result in numerous physical, social, and psychological benefits, as well as enhance overall quality of life. However, for people with disabilities to gain these benefits, leisure services must be both accessible and inclusive.

In response, during the 1960s in North America, a movement emphasizing the rights of people with disabling conditions developed. A significant turning point in Canada, for example, was the amendment of the Human Rights Act in 1977, which prohibits discrimination for employment for reasons of physical or mental disability. (It also bars discrimination based on sex, sexual orientation, race, marital status, gender identity, creed, age, and religious or political belief.) Such official notice of the rights of persons with disabilities did not occur in the U.S. until 1990 with the passage of the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), which required public institutions to provide fuller and more equitable opportunities for accessibility to buildings, programs, jobs, and so on.

In relating the ADA to leisure facilities, programs and other services, the advocacy philosophy originally took the form of "separate but equal." Recreation programs in communities were instrumental in addressing the needs of persons with disabilities by establishing segregated programs. These were often labeled as programs for special populations. Later, it was realized that segregation sometimes invited others to view persons with disabilities as different and worthy of pity. Now, the focus is not simply on providing access to leisure resources through special programs but also on enabling persons with disabilities to become full participants in community life (Bedini, 1990). The goal of this inclusive philosophy is to create options that optimize leisure equity (see Figure 13.4).



Figure 13.4. The goal of inclusion is to create options that optimize leisure equity. For examples of how this can be accomplished, check out the website for Together We Rock at https://www.togetherwerock.com/twr-blog/2018/5/1/inclusive-recreation-and-leisure-activities.

To accomplish this, leisure services and resources must reduce social, psychological, and physical barriers to experiencing inclusive opportunities (Dattilo, 2018). In other words, fewer people are excluded—services provide equitable access and full participation. At the core of this are several fundamental principles about leisure and disability, namely, self-determination, self-advocacy, normalization, and integration (Searle & Brayley, 2000).

First, one of the most significant ways persons with disabling conditions can be empowered through leisure is **self-determination** (Mahon & Bullock, 1992). Allowing people to make decisions for themselves, free from influence or interference, is important to everyone, and leisure settings and experiences are

Self-determination: Defining goals for oneself and taking the initiative to achieve them

among the best sources for this. For persons with disabling conditions, it is especially important to have the right to choose leisure.

Similarly, **self-advocacy** means individually and as a group, persons with disabling conditions are allowed to speak for and on behalf of themselves. In the past 30 years, a great deal has been accomplished to facilitate equal rights for people with special needs, yet until recently much of that proposed was by people without disabilities. Self-advocacy gives persons with disabilities their own voice, and leisure settings and experiences are among the best sources for this.

Self-advocacy: Speaking on behalf of oneself

Normalization: Availability of typical leisure experiences

Integration: Enabling persons with and without disabilities

The principle of **normalization** does not mean making persons with disabling conditions "normal." Instead, it refers to the provision of typical experiences so that those with disabilities can maintain or develop leisure interests along with their peers. One of the outcomes of normalization is **integration**, which requires both social interaction and social acceptance (Bullock & Howe, 1991). Based on the idea of integrity, integration encourages you "to be yourself among others" (Fullwood, 1990, p. 3).

Sexual and Gender Diversity

Today, there is a great deal of debate over labels for diversity in gender and sexuality. For example, the widely used label "sexual and gender minority" is an umbrella description that encompasses lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, nonbinary, and other sexual and/or gender identities and expressions that vary from traditional, societal, cultural, or physiological norms. This and other terms (e.g., LGBT) are controversial. For example, some people object to being considered a minority because of its connotations of discrimination. Others argue against lifestyle and medical distinctions being lumped in the same category. And some claim that gender and sexuality are two different spheres.

Box 13.6 In Profile

The Alphabet

Over the past few decades, letters of the alphabet have been used to group together various sexual and gender minorities, such as LGBT, LGBTQ, and LGBTQIA+. These letters were an evolution toward inclusion—an expansion of the language formerly used, such as "the gay community." It began with *L* for lesbian, *G* for gay man, *B* for bisexual, and *T* for transgender. Despite the intent of inclusion, these letters proved to be too limiting.

Take, for example, the addition of *Q*, which became popular as the 20th century turned into the 21st. Some insisted this stood for "questioning," representing people who were uncertain of their sexual orientation or gender identity. Others declared it was for "queer," a catchall term that had shed its derogatory origins (Gold, 2018). Now, there is also *I* for intersex; *A* for ally (or asexual, depending); and sometimes a plus sign, which is meant to cover everyone else.

For more information on definitions, see https://lgbtqia.ucdavis.edu/educated/glossary.

Nonetheless, in the past and throughout much of the world, religious and governmental authorities have condemned persons who represent diversity of gender and sexuality. For example, until more recently in the U.S., homosexuality was categorized as a form of mental illness by the psychiatric profession and as a crime by law enforcement. Change began in the 1960s as civil rights movements worked to remove some of the discriminatory laws.

In terms of leisure, gays and lesbians have become an important consumer market in many economies, including in tourism. For example, many cities have gay-themed festivals and events: Aspen, Colorado, has Gay Ski Week; Sydney, Australia, has Mardi Gras; and Palm Springs, California, has Winter Party. As a part of Gay Days Orlando, Walt Disney World is the scene for Gay Day in the Magic Kingdom, which annually draws some 180,000 visitors (Martin, 2019). While not officially sponsored by the Walt Disney Company, the event is possible because of the park's official policy not to discriminate against anyone's right to visit the parks, and over the years it has become more involved in working with the event coordinators.

This is because niche tourism marketed to people who want to travel is economically beneficial. Gay-themed cruises, destination weddings, and specialty tours are rising in popularity. Major global hotel chains have gay-based loyalty programs and special room packages tailored to gay consumers. Studies show that LGBT consumers spend significantly more on average than other segments on leisure travel. For example, based on tourism industry data, the annual economic impact of gay and lesbian travelers is approximately $211 billion globally (Thurlow, 2018).

In spite of this, gays, lesbians, and others continue to be discriminated against in the domains of family, employment, religion, housing, health care, and leisure. While recreation facility and program use has been shown to enhance a sense of community belonging, and thus is a coping mechanism for feelings of marginalization (Kalbfleisch, Mock, & Hilbrecht, 2016), some leisure service organizations have explicitly refused participation to gay and lesbian individuals. These include recreation and social clubs sponsored by religious groups, private clubs, fraternities and sororities, and some school extracurricular activities (Figure 13.5).



Figure 13.5. The 2016 Pride March in New York City. In 2013 and 2015, the Boy Scouts of America lifted its ban on gay members and leaders. Beginning in 2019, it will accept girls. This latter effort at inclusion greatly irritated the Girl Scouts of America and prompted the Mormon Church to decide it will create its own scouting program for boys, separate from the parent organization (Kramnick & Moore, 2018).

Because gays and lesbians remain marginalized in leisure, researchers have focused on the coping strategies used when faced with such discrimination. Particularly, social support has been highlighted as an important stress-coping resource (Haas, 2002) and emphasizes the significant role of leisure. For example, in a study on the lives of older lesbians, Jacobson and Samdahl (1998) found that to cope with their experiences of discrimination, these women actively created private safe leisure spaces for themselves (e.g., in softball leagues)—an alternative community providing support and validation. Further, a study on gay tourists by Pritchard, Morgan, Sedgley, Khan, and Jenkins (2000) concluded that the need for safety, to feel comfortable with like-minded people, and to escape to specifically gay spaces were key influences on their choice of vacation destination.

As well, studies of participants in the Gay Games reported them as full of the "joy of being wholly who they are" (Deane-Young, 1994, p. 11). Yet, in studying gays and lesbians in sport in general, E. Anderson

(2002) saw it as a form of self-marginalization, refusing to challenge the discrimination, and cited the creation of the Gay Games as a prime example. As well, Jarvis (2006) suggested that gay sport has largely avoided challenging the "cultural conservatism" of sport.

Box 13.7 The Study Says

Lesbians Find Leisure Meaning in Church

The purpose of this study was to explore the experiences and perspectives of leisure constraints among lesbians who attended an LGBTQ-focused church in Eastern Canada (Barbosa & Liechty, 2018). In-depth interviews with seven church members produced findings that suggested that participants identified the church as a meaningful source of leisure. However, participants also viewed many other churches and religion in general to be a source of leisure constraint; prior church experiences had been unwelcoming or led them to internalize feelings of homophobia.

Diversity of Race and Ethnicity

In North America, increasing diversity in ethnicity and race has been so dramatic that certain groups are on the verge of losing their "minority" status (Stodolska & Walker, 2007). For example, in the American state of Hawaii, non-White ethnic groups account for about 75% of the population, with the largest being those of Asian descent at about 55%. Hawaii is one of five states, along with the District of Columbia, with majority minority populations, but the numbers are likely to grow until racial and ethnic minorities will make up a majority of the U.S. population by 2042 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2008).

Box 13.8 By the Numbers

The Generational Distinction

The newest generation of White Americans is likely be the first minority White generation. Racial and ethnic diversity by generation today:

Race	Baby boomers %	Millennials %	Generation Z %
Whites	81.5	55.8	49.6
Hispanics	10.5	21.0	26.0
Blacks	11.7	15.0	13.8
Asians	4.6	5.0	5.2
2+ Races	1.1	3.0	4.7
American Indian/Alaska Natives	.96	1	.8

Source: Vespa, Armstrong, & Medina, 2018.

Recent surges in racial and ethnic conflict suggest that such diversity is problematic for some, including for those who express discriminatory responses and for those who receive them. For example, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (2017) reported that in 2017 hate crimes in the U.S. increased for the third consecutive year, with most of them (59.5%) motivated by race and ethnicity (see also Kaleem, 2018). Usually the motive behind such conflict is described as **racism**. Although the U.S. is increasingly multiethnic, the problem of racism endures (Floyd & Stodolska, 2019).

What do we mean by race and ethnicity? Definitions of what constitutes an ethnic or racial group are subject to much discussion and study, and the terminology used to describe them has changed over time. We will consider **ethnicity** first. Membership in any ethnic group is something that is subjectively meaningful to the person. For example, the ethnicity data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau is self-identified. Individuals respond to the survey according to the group with which they most closely identify. They may base this on any number of factors, including their nationality, country of birth, language spoken at home, parents' country of birth, geographical origin, and/or religion.

Racism: Prejudice, discrimination, or antagonism directed against someone of a different race based on the belief that one's own race is superior

Ethnicity: A social construction indicating common cultural, ancestral, and/or language traits

Race: Self-defined distinction usually based on physical characteristics

The U.S. Census Bureau also counts people according to self-identified **race**. Residents choose one or more races with which they feel most closely connected. It is important to distinguish that the racial categories used do not reference biological, genetic, anthropological or even scientific characteristics, because race also generally reflects a social definition, even though race also reflects physical characteristics, including skin color, eye color, hair color, and bone/jaw structure.

Given the increasing ethnic and racial diversity of North America, you might rightly conclude that there are likewise increasing challenges in leisure. For example, parks, playgrounds, and public green spaces are less available in poorer and minority neighborhoods (Boone, Buckley, Grove, & Sister, 2009). That is, studies have confirmed that Blacks and Latinx are in greatest need of public parks and recreation but live in cities with the lowest amount of expenditures for recreation from local, state, and federal funds (Floyd & Stodolska, 2019).

As well, there are recent cases of an African American youth being physically assaulted for playing in a public swimming pool (O'Kane, 2018), mixed-race couples being harassed while barbecuing in a park (Dreher, 2018), and police stopping two women for speaking Spanish in a public place (Campbell, 2018). This phenomenon has been called "playing while black" in some publications; that is, typical youth behavior is being racially profiled (Pinckney, Corliss, Brown, & Theriault, 2019).

Over the past 40 years, scholars have produced a voluminous body of literature examining leisure meanings according to racial and ethnic distinctions. For example, while the leisure of ethnic and racial minorities is still constrained by socioeconomic status, limited access to quality recreation resources, discrimination, and lack of information, leisure also provides many benefits to ethnic and racial minorities, including facilitating interracial/intergroup contacts, creating opportunities for learning and cultural exchange, helping to strengthen bonds within ethnic communities, and facilitating preservation of ethnic culture.

Specifically, many studies have focused on neighborhood/community-based leisure—such as the effect of racial and ethnic identities on access to urban parks. Similarly, ethnic and racial group use of the outdoors and forest-based recreation has been a common theme of studies, as has race and ethnicity in sports and youth development (Floyd, Bocarro, & Thompson, 2008; Figure 13.6).

For example, a study reported by Scott and Lee (2018) substantiated that persons from ethnic minority groups represent a comparatively small fraction of national park visitors; that is, about 2% of all visitors are African American and 5% are Latinx. According to a 2018 study by Goodrid, the connection between low participation rates of African Americans in outdoor recreation has to do with three tiers of oppression: the construction and maintenance of outdoor recreation as a White activity, the history of economic marginalization that communities of color have experienced, and the environmental trauma that African Americans have experienced in outdoor settings throughout American history.

Several theoretical perspectives can help us make sense of the race, ethnicity, and leisure relationship (Mowatt, 2017). They cover a wide range of concepts such as socioeconomic status, culture, discrimination, identity, social networks, and many others (Floyd & Stodolska, 2019), which suggests there are multiple causes for inequality in leisure.

One long-standing perspective that is still used today to explain ethnic/racial leisure distinctions is termed **marginality**. The thesis of marginality suggests ethnic and racial differences are due to a group's marginal position in society. For example, over the years, research has found differences between Whites and Blacks in their interests in outdoor recreation. Marginality would explain this difference as Blacks feel more alienated from the dominant culture that participates in it. Thus, they self-segregate from certain pastimes.

Marginality: Being on the margins of the dominant culture



Figure 13.6. Are differences between White and Black persons in outdoor recreation a matter of prohibition or disinterest?

Some studies have argued, however, that the marginal status of racial and ethnic groups in leisure is due to opportunity discrimination (Washburne, 1978). As applied to outdoor recreation participation in particular, this perspective maintains ethnic/racial differences are due to the cost of participation and the geographical location of resources—that historically the dominant groups have had a larger discretionary income and greater access to outdoor recreation sites. Others (cf. Floyd, 1998) have rejected a marginality explanation specifically because of socioeconomic differences within ethnic groups—not everyone who identifies themselves with a minority group lacks resources.

Another, and more contemporary theoretical perspective that tries to explain racism in leisure is labeled Critical Race Theory (see Pinckney et al., 2019). Tenets of Critical Race Theory include the following:

1. Racism is ordinary, common, and embedded in everyday experiences.
2. Racism advances the interests of both elite Whites and working-class people, leaving little incentive to eradicate it.
3. Race is socially constructed, and races are categories invented, manipulated, or removed by society when convenient.
4. The "voices" of people should be privileged in discussions about race and racism. (Pinckney et al., 2019, p. 3)

What We Understand About Leisure Equity

Our pastimes are a tool both for and against equity for people. For groups such as immigrants, women, persons with disabilities, those with sexual and gender diversity, and ethnic and racial minorities, the following points can be made about leisure and equity:

- Leisure is not yet equitable; constraints to participation exist.
  Select one of the example groups discussed and illustrate this conclusion.

- Leisure has the potential of providing equality of opportunity.
  Select one of the example groups discussed and illustrate this conclusion.
- This can be accomplished through principles such as inclusion, celebration of diversity, and pluralism.
  Define each of these concepts and describe how they are forces for equity in leisure.

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CHAPTER 14
Leisure Systems

Why are leisure systems important?

As you already know, having access to leisure resources is imperative to the lives of individuals, communities, and entire societies. Delivery systems for these resources assist with this access.

What are the types of organized leisure resources?

Leisure resources are usually grouped into the categories of sports, cultural arts, outdoor recreation, travel, hobbies, social recreation, and others.

Who are the sponsors of leisure systems?

Leisure resources are sponsored by public, private, and commercial agencies.

How do I prepare for a career within a leisure system?

Both formal education in a college or university and practical experience with leisure sponsors are important steps to securing a professional position in leisure services fields.



Where do places for leisure come from? How are they cared for so we may use them? Who manages our gymnasiums, playgrounds, art centers, concert halls, health clubs, campgrounds, and resorts? What makes it possible for us to have forests, gardens, parks, trails, reservoirs, and beaches? These and many other leisure resources are managed by a varied collection of agencies, organizations, and companies. Funds are generated, personnel hired, facility and program services offered. Hundreds and thousands of these efforts, big and small, are focused on leisure. This is called a **leisure service delivery system** (Figure 14.1).

Of course, many pastimes are experienced in informal ways, such as reading a book, walking around the neighborhood, and socializing with friends. However, other pastimes require or are made better by an organization that provides facilities, equipment, leadership, instruction, schedules, and other support. Yet even independently experienced activities such as reading, walking, and socializing require the provision of safe, attractive, and accessible areas to be fully enjoyed.

Since leisure service delivery systems are broad, varied, and numerous, in our final chapter we survey some of the typical ways resources for leisure are managed. We will begin by reviewing the theme of leisure in a utilitarian role and explore why leisure service delivery systems are important. Next, we will present ways of structuring services according to type of leisure expression. These include tourism, cultural arts, sports, hobbies, social recreation, and outdoor recreation. Finally, we will discuss ways of organizing leisure services according to type of sponsorship (public, private, and commercial), along with ways to secure a professional position with a leisure services sponsor.

Leisure service delivery system: A means for providing leisure products and services to the public

While we will try to make distinctions in these categories, you will want to keep in mind that leisure eludes any hard-and-fast "it is this way always" claims. This is because leisure is a health field, yes, but it is also a business field, a government field, an arts field, a natural resources field, an education field, a management field, a government field, and a hospitality field.



Figure 14.1. Symphony of the Seas, the world's largest cruise ship, launched in 2018. Part of the Royal Caribbean International fleet and an example of a leisure service delivery system, the ship has 2,759 staterooms that will hold 6,680 passengers. It cruises the Mediterranean and the Caribbean.

Why Leisure Systems Are Important

At the Yale University Law School, classes, professors, computer labs, textbooks, and other resources help students succeed. There is also Heather. Yale, renowned for competitiveness and its Supreme Court justices, has a program where stressed-out students can check out a therapy dog. They can play with Heather (a golden retriever) as she hangs out at the law library (http://schedule.yale.edu/event/5163362).

Meanwhile, over at the Montgomery County Courthouse in Pennsylvania, Turks (a Labrador retriever) is certified to appear in courtrooms, where she often snuggles next to victims, especially children, to help them get through the trauma of testifying. She also accompanies juries that have been sequestered during deliberations (Rosenbaum, 2018). While much more evidence is available on dogs as helpmates, cats are now being more recognized, as are miniature horses, goats, rabbits, and even llamas (Kingson, 2018). In fact, the demand for animals in clinics, workplaces, college campuses, and courtrooms sometimes outstrips supply, according to Pet Partners, the largest registry of therapy animals (Pet Partners, n.d.).

Heather and Turks (and the cats, rabbits, etc.) are great examples of a leisure resource. Their playfulness has a specific function. Part 3 of this text has focused on the functional side of leisure: its ability to be a tool for the accomplishment of other things beyond itself, including a person being more successful in law and jury testifying. This chapter will conclude this third part, then, with the specific means by which we can accomplish the functional role for leisure.

From an earlier chapter, you remember that in ancient societies leisure served purposes greater than its own expression. As societies became more complex, they became even more reliant on leisure as a tool for solving problems and creating **public good**. This is the utilitarian role of leisure—it serves a specific and needed function.

Public good: For the benefit or well-being of everyone

Today, as a public good, leisure is key not only to individual health and wealth, civic celebrations, and family vitality but also to counteracting deprivation and improving social communication and cooperation. Leisure is useful in creating higher quality lives—it enhances life's livability. Although far from being a perfect solution for social, political, economic, and environmental difficulties, leisure is a major contemporary problem solver. It accomplishes this by creating "community." That is, unified groups of people are able to take life-sustaining actions because members work together to take care of each other. It is through community that we demonstrate the ability of leisure to accomplish so much.

How is this accomplished? A community system of leisure provision ensures people have access to the resources they need and want. Essentially, leisure systems are important because they provide "capital." In an earlier chapter in Part 3, we presented the case for the contribution of leisure to economic capital; here we will add to that the ideas of social and cultural capital.

Social capital refers to the benefits of cooperation between individuals and groups. That is, social networks of people have value. This is not a particularly new idea, as it was probably Alexis de Tocqueville who, in the early 19th century, first observed that Americans were prone to meeting at as many gatherings as possible to discuss issues of state, economics, or the world. This high level of transparency, he reasoned, caused greater participation from the people and thus allowed for democracy to work better (Putnam, 2000).

Social capital: The value of social networks; transactions are marked by reciprocity, trust, and cooperation for a common good

That is, by engaging with each other in a meaningful and collective way, people provide communal health for each other. Social capital is anything that facilitates this action by generating networks of reciprocal relationships. Since de Tocqueville, many have studied social capital. For example, Robert Putnam (2000) described social capital as a key component of not only feeling connected in a society but also of building and maintaining a productive community for all. Leisure resources such as social clubs, sport leagues, choruses, camps, and even tour groups are examples of social capital.

Box 14.1 What Do You Say?

Is Social Capital in Trouble?

Initially, research by Putman (1995) documented that community networks such as the Parent Teacher Association, League of Women Voters, and Canadian Red Cross had experienced decreasing participation. Does this mean a decline in social capital in North America? Putnam explained that people are not participating as much in making their communities good places to live, citing a roughly 25% decline in the time spent in informal socializing and face-to-face visiting since 1965 and nearly a 50% decline in memberships in clubs and organizations.

Contrastingly, according to a study published by the American Enterprise Institute in 2019, attitudes toward neighbors and local communities are quite positive (73%). People say they derive a sense of community from their friends, neighborhoods, and hometowns and regular interactions produce a strong sense of community.

To accommodate the debate, Stengel (1996) proposed people may be redefining the forms and nature of their participation in the community. For example, more of the efforts of social capital may now be done on mobile devices and therefore not be as visible. As well, though still a very new notion, some consider that millennials are beginning to center social capital around their work: turning the office into a source of friendships, meaning, and social occasions (Brooks, 2016).

1. In your own community, have you noticed a decrease in social capital? How or how not?
2. What if organizations such as the garden club disappeared in your town? Or if student government and club sports disappeared on your campus? Do they really matter?
3. Do you agree or disagree with Godbey (2006), who claimed the consequences of a loss in social capital include a loss of democracy, increased alienation and loneliness, and a decreasing ability to solve problems? Why or why not?

Another form of capital that explains the importance of leisure systems is cultural capital. **Cultural capital** is the knowledge, experience, and connections we acquire in life that enable us to succeed. This is our "life advantage" that comes from our families, our schooling, and to the point, our leisure. Beyond economic means, cultural capital gives us our status in society.

Cultural capital: Personal assets such as education, intellect, dress, or physical appearance that promote social mobility

Cultural capital is a concept that has gained widespread popularity since it was first articulated by Bourdieu and Passeron in their 1973 article "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." They considered cultural capital to be the reason some children fail at school and some adults lack success in occupations. Their view was that people need to possess the behaviors and knowledge that are the most highly regarded in their society to succeed there. In other words, cultural capital is having the social "currency" of a culture.

This idea has been studied widely. For example, some studies (cf. Dumais, 2002) have suggested cultural capital includes a linguistic advantage; others (cf. Mohr & DiMaggio, 1995) have identified it as participation in the highbrow tastes and styles of the dominant in-power culture. Ultimately, what Bourdieu described years ago still holds true today—school continues to be the strongest cultural capital source for the behaviors of children all over the world (Bulmash, 2019).

However, many studies have investigated the role of leisure in cultural capital. For example, Katsillis and Rubinson (1990) found high school students' attendance at lectures, the theatre, museums, and galleries to be positively related to their success in school. In a study by Downey and Powell (1993), those eighth graders who were more successful in school participated in scouting, hobby clubs, boys' and girls'

clubs, nonschool team sports, 4-H, and other recreation programs. Stempel (2005) concluded from his data that the dominant social classes use strenuous aerobic sports, moderate levels of weight training, and competitive sports as capital for advancement in society. And Stalker (2011) found participation in a diversity of leisure activities to be an important indicator of cultural capital.

Leisure Resource Types

What leisure resources of a community provide opportunities for gaining social and cultural capital? The variety is limited only by imagination, because leisure interests are as broad as humanity itself. For fun people collect stamps, run marathons, fly airplanes, zentangle, bake cookies, climb mountains, take photographs, watch football games, collect swizzle sticks, plant flowers, roast marshmallows, and race around poles and barrels on a horse (Figure 14.2). In North America, more than 40 million people participate in hiking and camping each year, and 66.48 million are members of health and fitness clubs (Statista, 2018). And poetry reading is trending up; between 2012 and 2017, the rate of poetry reading among adults grew by 76%, to 28 million people (National Endowment for the Arts, 2017).



Figure 14.2. Pole bending is a rodeo event that combines the horse's athletic ability and the horsemanship skills of a rider to maneuver a pattern around the poles in the fastest time. Susan Olgier competing with Abby. © Patricia D. Setser.

While even classifying experiences that offer leisure meaning and value is a difficult task, and the means of the classification are arbitrary, people's pastimes can be generally grouped by the activity types listed in Table 14.1. The categories of sports and games, cultural arts, outdoor recreation, travel and tourism, hobbies, and social recreation are not all inclusive, but they are useful for describing the common types of organized leisure resources provided in many communities.

Table 14.1
Types of Leisure Resources

Category	Subcategories	Examples
Sports and Games	Individual Dual Team	Gymnastics, ice-skating, solitaire, badminton, wrestling, chess, volleyball, water polo, charades
Cultural Arts	Music Fine arts Dance Drama Literary	Guitar lessons, karaoke, filmmaking, ceramics, painting, ballroom dance, rhythm games, decoupage, mime, storytelling, stage shows

Table 14.1 continued

Outdoor Recreation	Camping Nature-oriented Conservation Adventure Outdoor sports	Backpacking, RVing, stargazing, bird-watching, gardening, wildlife planting, spelunking, skiing, fishing, horseback riding
Travel and Tourism	Group tours Independent travel Cruises Ecotourism Philanthropy	Package tours, theater trips, field trips, ocean and river cruises, volunteering to count zebras, theme parks, resorts, adventure travel
Hobbies	Collecting Mental Making and tinkering	Card games, puzzles, reading, autographs, dolls, coins, model building, kite flying, cooking, sewing, lapidary, knitting
Social Recreation	Parties Clubs Eating events Visiting events	Holiday, birthday, poker, meetings, coffeehouses, drop-in, picnics, cookouts, potlucks, coffee breaks, Internet chat rooms

Travel and Tourism

Tourism is travel for recreational purposes. It is the short-term movement of people to destinations outside where they ordinarily live and work. We travel to lose ourselves and we travel to find ourselves.

While people have traveled from earliest times to escape danger, worship deities, or extend an education, today's travel purposes are as wide as all interests. For example, the list of reasons people travel might include agritourism, birth tourism, food tourism, religious tourism, genealogy tourism, adventure tourism, medical tourism, sex tourism, war tourism, wildlife tourism, and now space tourism. Travelers today go on cruises and sign up for fantasy camps. They go dog sledding, go fly-in hiking, take glacier tours, and go glamping (Figure 14.3). How about an organized tour of the classic gardens of Europe or booking a week at an ecolodge? Or maybe snorkel in Bora Bora, take a cooking class in Tuscany, or watch the sun rise over Angkor Wat?



Figure 14.3. Glamping is "glamorous camping." Not in the least bit rustic, this tourism activity makes it possible to have the comforts of home and also be close to nature. Interest in glamping experiences are predicted to increase over the next 5 years.

Thus, tourism is a wide and varied activity. As well, the geographic spread of tourism continues to expand, as all parts of the world are now accessible to tourists. While some destinations are not considered safe or are expensive to get to, intrepid tourists still go. For example, while difficult to count accurately, the number of tourist visas issued by Afghan embassies in 2014 was about 20,000 and bookings for adventure trips there have been doubling annually (Gordon, 2014). And the number of tourists to Antarctica for the 2018–2019 season is expected to be 55,764, each paying upwards of $35,000 for the trip (International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators, 2018).

As well, tourism is an industry. Indeed, it is one of the world's largest industries. It is an export business even though the consumer comes there. It is also an agent of significant change. Indeed, with about 1.4 billion people traveling at any given time (Kinsman, 2019), there is the staggering potential of having a major impact on the cultures, environment, and economies of not only the visited sites but also the means for getting there. This is because the tourism industry is a complex and dynamic network of entities that support it, including eating and drinking establishments, transportation, accommodations, entertainment, events and attractions, and others. The delivery of all this must operate as a coordinated enterprise.

For example, the success of the resort business on the island of Antigua depends on not only the marketing efforts of travel agents worldwide, the availability of transportation to and within the island, housing and restaurants, but also the retail shops, charter boats, diving and snorkeling guides, golf courses and personnel, babysitters, musicians, gardeners, and even weather forecasters. Taken together, these are referred to as the **tourism system**. The exact mix of agencies and services within a tourism system for a particular locale depends, of course, on the type of tourism available there.

Tourism system: An industry created to serve tourists

The reason for the use of the "system" label for the provision of tourism is to emphasize the interdependency of its components. That is, the destination is linked via marketing to creating a demand for modes of transportation to deliver the consumer of the travel, whereby the destination in turn provides housing and food and beverage services to the traveler. One of the models for this interdependency is the work of Leiper (1979), who outlined the five basic elements in the tourism system as the tourist, generating regions, transit routes, destination regions, and a tourist industry operating within physical, cultural, social, economic, political, and technological environments.

Box 14.2
Web Explore

The Bucket List

It is very popular these days to have a bucket list. A bucket list is defined as the number of experiences or achievements that a person hopes to have or accomplish during their lifetime, and one of the most widely made lists is for travel. Search the Web to see the extent of travel-focused bucket lists. For example, you might begin with https://bucketlistjourney.net/ultimate-travel-bucket-list/. On the other side of the spectrum, you might also check out https://bucketlistjourney.net/cheap-bucket-list-ideas/.

After checking out these and other sites, what fantastic journeys and destinations would you put on your bucket list? And what close-to-home sorts of experiences would you find inspiring?

Some commentators have bemoaned that the obsessive need to "parasail over volcanoes in Mongolia, swim with man-eating sharks in the Seychelles, and sleep in every farmhouse that George Washington ever bedded down in" (Queenan, 2018, p. 1) has contributed to an epidemic of bucket-list neurosis. Check the Web for this aspect of the discussion as well. What do you conclude?

Cultural Arts

The arts refers to a diverse range of activities that appeal to the senses because of their beauty or emotional power. It most often refers to the visual arts, including painting and sculpture, but also is applied to other art forms that stimulate other senses, such as music, dance, and drama. Art program and facility services are an integral part of a community's quality of life. Indeed, summer day camp programs for children are as likely to include crafts and dance as swimming and games. Members of senior adult

centers can sign up to learn to play the oboe. Haiku poetry is taught to youth offenders in jail, football players take ballet classes, and executives join potters cooperatives.

Communities everywhere have orchestras, dance companies, theatre groups, and art fairs. Voluntary organizations sponsor photography clubs and quilting guilds. Army bases provide rap practice rooms, shopping malls feature art exhibits, and university string quartets perhaps perform weekly at noon on the campus lawn. To illustrate the pervasiveness of cultural arts services, we point to the more than 55,000 museums in 202 countries in the world (Saur, 2017), and more than 13.79 million people who attended Broadway shows in New York City during the 2017–2018 season (Broadway League, n.d.).

Box 14.3 In Profile

Musical Theatre

Musical theatre (or *musicals*) is a theatrical performance that combines songs, spoken dialogue, dance, and acting. Musicals are performed around the world, presented in large venues, such as New York City's Broadway district, as well as in regional and community theatres, in schools and churches, and made into movies (and vice versa). The late 1800s and early 1900s precursors were operetta, vaudeville, and the follies, where the entertainment was focused on the frivolous and comedic.

However, with the 1927 production of *Show Boat*, a new genre of musical theatre was initiated that explored subject matter that was neither frivolous nor humorous—but instead dark and serious, such as unhappy marriages and racial tensions. Later, *Carousel* (1945) focused on domestic violence. Since then, subject matter for musical theatre has ranged from Mormon missionaries (*The Book of Mormon*) to the problems of the 1930s Depression (*Annie*) to a homicidal barber (*Sweeney Todd*) to the effects of peer pressure (*Mean Girls*)—seemingly unlikely topics for singing and dancing!

Musical theatre productions can be performed for many years, and some continually have new versions (called revivals). For example, the longest running musical on Broadway has been *The Phantom of the Opera* (33 years) and the highest grossing show so far has been *The Lion King* ($8.2 billion as of 2019). Revivals of earlier musicals that are in production on Broadway for 2020 release include *The Music Man* and *West Side Story*.

Like all leisure pursuits, cultural art expressions have limitless options. The cultural arts include creative endeavors in literature, performing arts, and visual arts. Examples in the literary subcategory are fiction writing and reading, as well as poetry. Within the performing arts, interests often encompass dance, film, music, theatre, and stagecraft. The visual arts expressions of drawing, design, painting, architecture, photography, and sculpture are popular. Could we add culinary arts to the list? How about some types of video games?

Given this breadth, the challenge is coordinating the arts to ensure their adequate distribution. One solution is **community arts councils**. In many communities, special interest organizations in the arts are coordinated or assisted by a comprehensive agency that helps promote their efforts to provide arts services. As not-for-profit organizations, community arts councils promote and support all forms of cultural arts for all ages. They often fund artists and art organizations, provide special programs and events, and sponsor art education classes. For example, BEAD (Bloomington Entertainment and Arts District) in Bloomington, Indiana, works with galleries, live music and performing arts venues, over 90 restaurants and 100 specialty shops, parks, hotels, and neighborhoods "to bring the business and creative sectors togeth-

Community arts council: A collective method of art-making, engaging professional artists and self-defined communities through collaborative artistic expression

er to advance commerce and culture, build community, and spur arts development" (City of Bloomington, n.d., Mission section, para. 1).

Another option for coordinating the arts in a community is a **cultural arts center**. These multipurpose facilities often sponsor dramatic, dance, and musical performances. In many communities, cultural arts centers provide one or more stages, an art gallery, and rehearsal and workshop areas under one roof. One of the first multipurpose cultural arts centers was New York City's Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts. Founded in 1962, the Lincoln Center's buildings and auditoriums cover 16 acres. It supports 12 independent arts organizations including the Metropolitan Opera, the New York Philharmonic, the Juilliard School of Music, the New York City Ballet, and Film at Lincoln Center. In a year, the center hosts "some 3,000 programs, events, and initiatives" (Lincoln Center, n.d., Overview section, para. 1).

Cultural arts center: An organization, building, or complex that promotes the arts; can be neighborhood arts organizations, private facilities, government-sponsored, or activist-run

Sports

According to the *World Sports Encyclopedia* (Lipoński, 2003), there are more than 8,000 sports and sporting games. These can be contemplated under subcategories such as motorized (auto racing), shooting (clay pigeon), stick and ball (hockey), sailing (kiteboarding), remote control (robot combat), orienteering (letterboxing), ice (curling), flying disc (disc golf), cue (carom billiards), and racket (pickleball), to name a few. Each year, new highs are reached in attendance at sporting events, new teams and leagues in both amateur and professional sports are established, and new sports soar to popularity (pickleball, anyone?). See Figure 14.4.



Figure 14.4. Pickleball is claimed to be the fastest growing sport in North America. It combines elements of tennis, badminton, and table tennis and can be played indoors and outdoors on a modified tennis or badminton court. Required equipment are a paddle and plastic ball. © Ruth V. Russell, 2016.

Even only a casual observation of a community demonstrates the priority of sport resources. Basketball hoops above garage doors, tennis courts behind apartment buildings, city swimming pools, private golf courses, and of course, softball diamonds can be found everywhere. In fact, you are hereby challenged to find even one town in the U.S. that does not have at least one softball facility! Some estimate that 40 million Americans play at least one softball game during a year (Francesconi, 2012).

Numerous agencies and organizations provide resources for sport participation and spectating. Athletic clubs, community centers, Boys and Girls Clubs, YMCAs, commercial stadiums and tracks, hotels, camps, cities, schools, churches, military bases, and many others are examples. Governmental sponsors most likely provide programs in team sports, such as basketball, soccer, and softball, whereas private sport and fitness clubs typically offer individual sports, such as jogging, weightlifting, golf, tennis, boating, and swimming.

Even the home is an important sport resource: exercise apparatus and portable swimming pools are common in many areas. Perhaps the largest growth in sport participation at home now comes via the computer, in the form of sport video games and Internet-based fantasy sports. For example, according to the Fantasy Sports Trade Association (2017), an estimated 59.3 million people aged 12 and above in the U.S. and Canada played fantasy sports in 2016. Participation has grown over 60% in the past 4 years with 20% of all males in the U.S. playing fantasy sports.

Sports are offered not only in a wide range of facilities and programs but also to a broad range of participants. Communities offer sport services for the novice and the highly skilled, for the young and the old, for women and girls, as well as men and boys. For example, in St. Petersburg, Florida, a softball league has a minimum age requirement of 74 years. They call themselves Kids and Kubs and have been playing regular seasons since 1931. Sports for people with disabilities are also a major service provision with numerous organizations providing sport opportunities such as golf, downhill skiing, tennis, and basketball.

Box 14.4 By the Numbers

Special Olympics

Special Olympics (2017) is the world's largest sports organization for children and adults with intellectual disabilities. It provides year-round training and competitions. Here are some worldwide numbers:

5.2 million – number of athletes globally

1 million – number of coaches and volunteers

170 – number of participating countries

100,000 – number of annual competitions

32 – number of different sports

1.6 million – number of athletes in the East Asia region alone

9 – 11 years – the average career for athletes

The point of it all is that sport is everywhere. As a wildly popular activity to both play and watch, sport is an undeniably worthwhile leisure resource for communities. However, communities must also assume responsibility for negative issues associated with sport. Sports are plagued by questions of injury, violence, racism, and sexism. For example, the sport of boxing has been described as opponents throwing punches at each other with the result decided when one of the opponents is deemed incapable to continue.

Perhaps the biggest concern in sport today comes from its potential for wielding power. While sport participation is central to the development of children and adolescents and provides opportunities for adults to stay active and healthy, and while sport spectating inspires social bonding and tension relief for citizens of a community, sport is also part of a large social system that is used for political, economic, and personal gain, and sport sponsors must remain vigilant to avoid this.

Outdoor Recreation

People join hiking clubs, go fishing, and make reservations months ahead to vacation near the ocean. Normally sedentary and prosaic adults spend their weekends climbing rocks, exploring caves, or following soaring bald eagles. Caring for plants provides therapy to patients in a skilled nursing center. Summer campers learn to overcome their fear of snakes.

Indeed, the out-of-doors is a prime resource for leisure. Forests and soil, sunshine and rain, rivers and sky, the hills, prairies, and lakes are more than pleasant places in which to play. In the outdoors, people participate more intimately in their own ecology. They go outdoors to repair what happens to them indoors.

Such romantic ideas about nature are very old ones in many societies, including in the U.S. As European settlers moved west in the early 1800s, their relationship with wilderness shifted. As it became less hostile, in their collective minds it began to represent the unique value of their new country. Assisted by the artists and writers of the time, a new reverence for nature emerged. The novels of James Fenimore Cooper, for example, described those who lived on the frontier as "pure of heart and noble in deed." Poets such as Ralph Waldo Emerson swore undying love to nature, and artists Thomas Cole and Thomas Moran made forays into the thick woods to paint their majestic beauty.

As the century progressed, such romanticizing of nature led to concern for its destruction. In the face of increasing industrialization and urbanization in the later decades, one solution seemed to be parks. The need for open spaces for leisure was felt first in the larger cities. Following the example of William Penn, who set aside five undeveloped squares for a park in Philadelphia in 1682, and James Oglethorpe, who designed public gardens and squares in Savannah, Georgia, in 1733, New York City planners provided the grandest example of the park solution at the time: Central Park, designed in 1853 by Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux.

Concern for the care of the natural heritage also began to be answered by government. In 1865, Congress set aside Mariposa Big Tree Park for the state of California. The intention was to preserve significant natural resources for the enjoyment of future generations. New York, Michigan, Minnesota, and New Jersey followed this lead and claimed open spaces for the benefit of their citizens. Later, thanks to the continued reports of explorers and artists, the U.S. Congress established Yellowstone National Park in 1872 (Figure 14.5).

As of 2015, there were 25,800 protected areas covering 499,800 square miles that were available for outdoor recreation use in the U.S. This is 14% of the total land area in the U.S. The U.S. also has 787 protected marine areas, covering an additional 490,893 square miles, or 12% of its total marine area (Atitwa, 2018). These protected areas are managed by federal, state, county, and municipal governments and include the provision of parks, forests, nature preserves, zoos, botanical gardens, camps, lakes and reservoirs, nature centers, resort ranches, marinas, ski slopes and trails, horse trails, picnic areas, campgrounds, rivers, and beaches.



Figure 14.5. Snowmobiling in Yellowstone National Park. Even in winter, visiting the park is popular. In Februaries from 2014–2018, for example, over 33,000 tourists came to the park. Source: National Park Service, 2019.

These outdoor resources are very good for our health, as detailed in an earlier chapter. For example, in another study (James, Hart, Banay, & Laden, 2016), it was found that people who live near "greener" areas have a lower risk of mortality. Specifically, places with more vegetation, such as parks, are less polluted, encourage people to exercise and engage with other people, and visually enhance daily experience. In particular, being in the

out-of-doors reduces the risk of respiratory disease, cancer, and kidney disease. This effect held in the study regardless of income, weight, or smoking status and also for both urban and suburban locations.

Hobbies

Almost everyone has a hobby. What is yours? Is it lapidary, interior design, beer brewing, beading, meme making, couponing, doll collecting, bird-watching, blogging, or baking? A hobby is a regular activity you do, usually on your own, for enjoyment. It can be almost anything including collecting themed objects or pursuing creative craft projects. One distinction for hobbies, in contrast to other pastimes, is that there is usually a sense of achievement. The pleasure of a hobby lies in making something of value or achieving something of value. Therefore, participation in a hobby typically encourages acquiring substantial skills and knowledge in that area. Hobbies are a contradiction: A hobbyist "takes work and turns it into leisure" (Gelber, 1999, p. 23).

Hobbies tend to closely follow trends in society. For example, stamp collecting was popular during the 19th and 20th centuries, as postal systems were the main means of communication. Also, woodworking and knitting have declined as hobbies, because manufactured goods provide cheaper alternatives to handmade. Today, genealogy is a popular hobby, in large part because of the availability of online ancestry tracking capabilities. In fact, an online community itself has become a hobby for many people, who share advice, information, and support. Even more, traditional collecting hobbies support trading in an online environment

Hobbies, while done for fun, can have significant and productive outcomes. For example, amateur astronomers have made major discoveries and tinkering chemists have contributed to the science of chemistry. More recently, home-based amateurs (with a high level of expertise) have produced the open-source model, which has resulted in widely used software for large numbers of people to work cooperatively on projects.

But this pastime is most beneficial for the typical hobbyist. Having a hobby has the unique ability to both relieve a work-filled stressful day and boost an understimulated day. This latter quality is labeled **eustress**, or good stress.

Eustress: Moderate or normal psychological stress that can be beneficial

Further, and perhaps surprisingly, many hobbies lend themselves to group activities: creative writing groups, beading guilds, model airplane clubs. Even though they can be pursued as a solo activity, hobbies can connect us with others and bring the added benefit of social support. Hobbies have also been cited as improving work performance, because for one, the skills attained in a hobby can spill over into career accomplishment (Debara, 2019). In fact, numerous research studies have verified these and other benefits of hobbies. For example, in a study of older adults, creative hobbies have been found to be the link between generativity and life satisfaction (Adams-Price, Nadorff, Morse, Davis, & Stearns, 2017).

Many organizations in the leisure service delivery system enable and enhance the expression of hobbies. For example, the Florida West Coast Bead Society (n.d.-b), founded in 1994, is a nonprofit, voluntary group of people interested in studying, making, and using beads in art. They meet monthly to share ideas, skills, and interests so as to promote creativity in the art of beadwork. They also are engaged in service projects, such as donations of jewelry to hospital gift shops. Think this is a small niche example? The organization has over 150 members (Florida West Coast Bead Society, n.d.-a).

Social Recreation

From attending a party with friends to chatting with strangers in an online chat room, social recreation is a typical use of free time. Indeed, socializing is often interwoven into other categories of recreation activities. Guild members socialize while sitting together over a quilting loom; playing golf is often cited as enjoyable because it provides an opportunity to be friendly with other people; while Nordic

skiing is typically valued for its peaceful solitude, gathering around the fire for a cup of mulled wine afterward is socially rewarding.

Foundational to enjoying social recreation is the possession of social skills. A social skill is any competence that enables interaction and communication with others. It requires knowledge of social rules so that social relations can be created and sustained. In most societies, the interpersonal skills needed for interacting with others include persuasion, active listening, problem solving, conflict management, and empathy.

Social recreation services and programs are commonly found in most communities. For example, social events such as block parties, fundraising galas, and harvest festivals offer opportunities for all members of the community to gather and socialize. As well, housewarmings and cast parties are usually specific to a subset of community and/or neighborhood members. And birthday and graduation parties often feature social opportunities for close friends and family members.

An outstanding example of a social event is Mardi Gras. Mardi Gras (or Fat Tuesday) is a celebration around the Christian feasts of Epiphany and Ash Wednesday. It is celebrated around the world but is perhaps most notoriously known for how it is celebrated in New Orleans, Louisiana. Here there are masquerade balls and exceptional food venues. Every day during the 2-week period, major parades take place and float riders traditionally toss "throws" into the crowds. The most common throws are strings of colorful plastic beads, but some float riders throw Moon Pies and inexpensive toys. The parades are organized by social clubs called krewes. For example, the Krewe of Endymion is best known for naming celebrities as grand marshals of its parades. The Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club is a predominantly African American krewe, and their float riders throw hand-painted coconuts (Figure 14.6).



Figure 14.6. The Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club is a social organization for men. It features members who take on character roles, such as king, witch doctor, and ambassador. In addition to participation in the annual Mardi Gras of New Orleans, service projects such as Toys for Tots and College Expo are included in its activities. Source: Zulu Social Aid and Pleasure Club.

Leisure Resource Sponsors

In addition to types of activities, leisure resources may be classified according to the type of sponsor. For example, federal, state/provincial, and local governments provide leisure resources and so do nongovernmental, not-for-profit agencies. Private clubs and commercial for-profit businesses also provide for the pastime needs of people. Employers offer facilities and programs for leisure as an employment benefit. Colleges and universities accommodate the sport, social, and cultural arts interests of students and faculty. Recreation services are part of the treatment for residents of correctional institutions and patients in hospitals.

To help you grasp these numerous sponsors, we will consider them according to three broad categories. First, services by public agencies are government sponsored and equitably available to all people. Although there is overlap in distinguishing them, private agencies provide facilities and programs to

members or selected elements of the population at large, and commercial agencies provide leisure services as a business. Table 14.2 compares these categories of leisure service sponsors.

Table 14.2
Leisure Service Sponsor Types

Type	Examples	Purpose	Services	Funding source
Public	Monroe County (IN) Parks and Recreation Department; Arkansas State Parks; National Park Service; U.S. Army MWR	To see that all citizens are equitably able to experience a high quality of life.	Wide variety, with focus on outdoor recreation, cultural arts, and sports.	Government taxes, bonds, user fees, gifts, and grants.
Private	YMCA, Girls Inc., Moffitt Cancer Center Dog Therapy, condominium fitness center, University of Florida RecSports, Cummins Engine Golf Club	To meet the leisure needs of members, or other subselections of the population.	Wide variety, with focus on social recreation, sports, hobbies, and voluntary service.	Member dues, merchandise sales, the United Way, HOA dues, donations, and grants.
Commercial	Walt Disney World, Bubba's Burgers, Kilroys Bar, Suburban Bowling Center, Jellystone Park Camp-Resorts, Indianapolis Colts	To sell leisure experiences to make a profit.	Wide variety, with focus on entertainment, sports, travel, and cultural arts.	Paying customers.

Box 14.5
In Your Own Experience

Community Inventory

Today, organized leisure service sponsors are pervasive. There are several ways of proving this claim. One way is to inventory your community. Have some fun and try this: walk down to your nearest city bus stop. Get on (better pay the fare too). Ride the bus for its entire route, until you return to the stop where you originally boarded. While you ride and enjoy the passing scenery, keep a tally of the leisure organizations, facilities, and services you see from the bus window. How many parks, playgrounds, community centers, public gardens, golf courses, art centers, museums, and so on do you count? Do you pass a YMCA, a Boys and Girls Club, a community arts agency, or a country club? How about commercial leisure places, such as restaurants, bars, arcades, movie theatres, or a bowling center? Bring your tally back to class and share with classmates. Try to organize your list according to the categories in Table 14.2. Discuss your reaction to what you observed. Point out the utilitarian role of these leisure resources.

Public Agencies

Of all the types of sponsors of leisure services, governmental agencies have the unique distinction of being

- the first type of organization to be formally recognized as responsible for serving the public's leisure needs;
- the only type of organization that is responsible for providing services on an equal basis to the entire population of a locale; and
- the only type of organization that has the power to secure, hold, protect, and open for use the natural resources upon which much of our leisure depends.

The primary function of government is to serve citizens' needs. Accordingly, government is the means by which people's leisure needs are met without regard to ability to pay, gender, race, occupational status, housing type or location, age, or any other distinction that can restrict access. This is perhaps best illustrated by the leisure services provided by local governments.

City, town, county, township, school district, and other governmental agencies operating at the local level of a community serve the broadest needs and largest clientele. Because they are the level of government closest to the citizens, they are better able to respond directly to the needs of the people. For example, after years of passing laws against loitering, cities from New York to Atlanta to San Francisco are creating new "parklets" where passersby are encouraged to sit and stay awhile—this is a function only a local government can provide.

Box 14.6 In Profile

Human Books

Why do you go to the library? For books, of course! You like books because they tell stories. Here is another type of library where you can be transported into a story—the Human Library. At a Human Library, you can "borrow" people. People with unique life stories volunteer to be the "books." For a specific amount of time, you can listen to and speak with a refugee, a soldier suffering from PTSD, a homeless person, someone living with HIV, and a religious convert. Any agency can sponsor a Human Library, but most are conducted by public libraries in towns and cities. For example, for information on how to organize one yourself, check out http://humanlibrary.org/.

Municipal recreation: Leisure services sponsored by local governments, such as a city

Public recreation agencies at this local level are often referred to as **municipal recreation**. Municipal recreation and park departments acquire, develop, and maintain facilities needed for local citizens, as well as provide the skilled leadership and program structure for the use of these facilities. For example, most cities provide softball and baseball diamonds, tennis courts, swimming facilities, basketball courts, playing fields, picnic areas, playgrounds, and community centers, as well as directors, supervisors, and other professional staff to plan programs for and manage these facilities. In the typical U.S. community, there is one park per every 2,277 residents, averaging 9.5 acres of park per 1,000 residents (National Recreation and Park Association, 2016).

Medium to large communities may also have gymnasiums, golf courses, auditoriums, outdoor theatres, bike and walking trails, fitness centers, dog parks, nature centers, skate parks, and cultural arts centers. Some also provide special-interest leisure opportunities such as zoos, aquariums (Figure 14.7), arboretums, campgrounds, ice arenas, and velodromes.

Local government leisure organizations typically work closely with other branches of local government, such as the police department, to develop effective programs to solve social problems. They also cooperate with other community organizations, as well as state and federal authorities, to develop comprehensive long-range service plans.

Box 14.7 Web Explore

ParkScore

How does your city measure up in terms of parks? Find out by checking the website for the Trust for Public Land's ParkScore ranking at https://www.tpl.org/parkscore.

Another level of government that serves as a leisure services sponsor is the state or provincial government. In the U.S., even though the Tenth Amendment to the Constitution gives states powers in areas such as public education, welfare, and health services, the idea that leisure services are a state responsibility did not take hold until the 1960s and 1970s. Today, however, and even with recent cutbacks in budgets, states remain a viable leisure services sponsor.



Figure 14.7. Aquariums are facilities where aquatic animals are confined within tanks and displayed to the public, and in which they may also be bred. Such facilities include public aquariums, oceanariums, marine mammal parks, and dolphinariums. Worldwide, over 200 aquariums are available to visit. This aquarium is in Okinawa City.

This is because states are able to function in ways not possible for local governments. For example, the functions of the state government in sponsoring leisure services can be summarized as follows (Maclean, Peterson, & Martin, 1985):

- *Enactment of enabling legislation.* States give local governments the legal authority to operate recreation and park services. Such enabling legislation gives city, county, and other local authorities the power to acquire properties, employ personnel, and impose taxes to support leisure services.
- *Direct provision of leisure services.* States operate a network of parks, forests, and recreation areas. These resources typically include nature preserves, historical monuments, beaches, campgrounds, rest areas, and parks.
- *Education.* States also sponsor educational services related to leisure, including publications, traveling exhibits, workshops, conventions, and outreach programs in schools. State-affiliated colleges and universities also offer professional curriculums that prepare students for careers in leisure services, as well as provide direct recreation resources to students, faculty, and staff.
- *Promotion of tourism.* State departments of commerce, planning, highways, natural resources, and tourism typically make special efforts to attract visitors. They conduct marketing research and promotions campaigns focused on getting their share of the tourist dollar.
- *Regulations.* State standards affecting leisure are of two types: those protecting participants and those protecting resources. Those protecting participants include regulations for safety, cleanliness, and health in camps, resorts, swimming pools, and restaurants. Regulations protecting leisure resources pertain to water pollution, fire dangers, and soil conservation.

Federal governments, in turn, manage leisure resources that are further away from the daily life of citizens but of greater significance in terms of heritage or beauty than those managed at state and local government levels. In the U.S., for example, the federal government provides a broad assortment of services. While difficult to count from election to election, there are more than 90 departments, bureaus, commissions, councils, divisions, and authorities at the federal level having at least some responsibility for leisure provision. Overall, the complexity of federal-level efforts to support leisure services can be summarized into six functions (Maclean et al., 1985):

- *Ownership and management of land, water, and wildlife for leisure.* In the U.S., out of 2.27 billion acres of land, the federal government owns and manages 28%. It administers these public lands that are used for recreation primarily through the National Park Service, which runs the National Park System (see Table 14.3); the U.S. Forest Service, which manages the national forests; the Bureau of Land Management, which manages other public lands; and the Fish and Wildlife Service, which administers the National Wildlife Refuge System. In Canada, the majority of all lands are held by governments in the name of the monarch and are called Crown Lands. About 89% of Canada's land area is Crown Land, and of this, the federal government manages 41%. Most federal Crown Land is in the territories (Northwest, Nunavut, and Yukon).

Table 14.3
U.S. National Park System

Type of park	Number in the U.S.	Example
National Monuments	84	Rainbow Bridge, Utah
National Historic Sites	76	Tuskegee Airmen, Alabama
National Parks	61	Olympic, Washington
National Historical Parks	57	Chaco Culture, New Mexico
National Memorials	30	Lincoln Boyhood Home, Indiana
National Preserves	19	Big Cypress, Florida
National Recreation Areas	18	Gauley River, West Virginia
National Battlefields	11	Antietam, Maryland
National Wild & Scenic Rivers & Riverways	10	Great Egg Harbor, New Jersey
National Seashores	10	Cape Cod, Massachusetts
National Military Parks	9	Shiloh, Tennessee
National Rivers	5	Buffalo, Arkansas
National Battlefield Parks	4	Manassas, Virginia
National Parkways	4	Blue Ridge, North Carolina & Virginia
National Scenic Trails	3	Appalachian, Maine to Georgia
National Lakeshores	3	Sleeping Bear Dunes, Michigan
Other Designations	14	Constitution Gardens, District of Columbia

- *Grants to state and local governments.* Several federal agencies make financial grants to lower level governments for purchasing land, facilities, training, and programs in leisure. For example, the U.S. federal government awards grants for the development of recreation services in correctional institutions.

- *Direct program operation.* While this function is more likely the responsibility of local governments, some federal agencies operate leisure services directly for participants, such as in **military recreation** through Morale, Welfare, and Recreation (MWR) services supported by Congress as well as user fees (Figure 14.8).

Military recreation: In the U.S., leisure services sponsored by the Department of Defense; community recreation for military personnel and their families



Figure 14.8. Morale, Welfare, and Recreation (MWR) is a network of leisure services designed for U.S. service members (Active, Reserve, Guard, and Retired) and their families. Programs and facilities can include fitness centers, pools, marinas, lounges, bowling centers, golf courses, restaurants, conference centers, movies, games, and catering. Source: 123rd Airlift Wing, Kentucky Air National Guard, Louisville, KY.

- *Research.* The federal government supports a broad spectrum of research about leisure ranging from outdoor recreation trends to the status of urban recreation. For example, monies are available for the collection and analysis of data leading to increasing the inclusion of persons with developmental disabilities into the community.
- *Regulation.* Federal regulations affecting leisure systems include standards for hunting and fishing, boating safety, the impact of leisure activities on the environment, and architectural accessibility for persons with disabilities.
- *Advisory services.* In the U.S., more than 30 federal organizations offer technical assistance for local agencies. For example, the President's Council on Fitness, Sports, and Nutrition provides consultation and publications to schools, municipal recreation and park departments, and youth organizations that wish to introduce or improve physical activity and sports programs.

Private Agencies

Government-sponsored leisure systems are only one slice of the leisure resource pie. Another type of sponsor of leisure service organizations is private. These are the social, civic, religious, political, fraternal, labor, conservation, special interest, and youth-serving agencies that provide for the pastime needs of members and/or specific populations of people. Almost all of us have been touched at some point in our lives by this type of leisure service agency. Have you ever been a Girl Scout or a Big Brother? Have

you been a member of the YMCA, 4-H, a country club, or fraternity or sorority? Did you play baseball in Little League? Does anyone you know belong to Kiwanis, the Nature Conservancy, the Catholic Youth Organization, or Bass Unlimited?

Private leisure organizations range from small groups of people gathered to express a particular leisure interest, such as your grandfather's poker club, to complex international organizations with thousands of members, such as the Girl Scouts. A tidy system of categorizing this wide range does not exist, but it may be useful if we consider them according to those that are private leisure dominant organizations, private secondary leisure organizations, and quasi-private organizations (Table 14.4).

Table 14.4
Types of Private Leisure Service Organizations

Category	Examples	Description
Leisure Dominant	Country clubs, college alumni clubs, poker clubs, Appalachian Trail Conservancy	Sole purpose is to serve the leisure needs and interests of members.
Leisure Secondary	Condominium management associations, religious organizations, employee recreation services	Primary purpose is something other than leisure, but leisure services are offered in support of the primary purpose.
Quasi-Private	4-H clubs, YMCA, campus recreation	Nongovernment and nonprofit with mostly open membership with some public and/or government funding.

First, private leisure dominant organizations primarily serve the leisure interests of their members. For example, social clubs, country clubs, college alumni clubs, and poker clubs provide for members' social needs. Clubs promoting drama, music, the fine arts, and hobbies are also widely available. Some of these organizations own facilities, such as retreat centers, clubhouses, dining rooms, libraries, studios, practice rooms, and game rooms.

Other examples include organizations focused on sports. Thousands of private sporting clubs were formed in the late 1800s and there remain many golf, tennis, cricket, bowling, swimming, sailing, skiing, and track and field clubs today. While some sports clubs have no facilities of their own and use public facilities, others control extensive properties, including marinas and playing fields.

Further, outdoor recreation is often the main service of private leisure dominant organizations, including hiking, bicycling, mountaineering, and camping and RVing clubs. For example, the Appalachian Trail Conservancy is a 94-year-old private organization made up of members dedicated to the conservation of the 2,175-mile Appalachian National Scenic Trail—a 250,000-acre greenway extending through 14 states from Maine to Georgia.

Another category of privately sponsored agencies is the secondary leisure organization (Table 14.4). These agencies contribute to the supply of leisure opportunities, even though their primary purpose is something else. For example, residential management associations, comprising owners of houses or condominiums, primarily maintain and manage shared residential facilities, such as parking, trees, and lawns, but sometimes also shared recreation resources, such as swimming pools, tennis courts, and party rooms. Religious organizations are another example of private secondary leisure sponsors. In support of a religious or denomination creed, often leisure facilities include gymnasiums, camps, and resort locations.

Employee recreation: Leisure services sponsored by companies as an employee benefit

Also, corporations and industries represent an example of the private secondary leisure category. **Employee recreation** services provide facilities and programs ranging from holiday events, sport leagues, and summer camps, to charter travel arrangements,

stores, fitness centers, and even stress management and weight control classes—all aimed at building a sense of camaraderie and loyalty among company employees. The payoff for the company, of course, is healthier employees, which both increases work productivity and decreases insurance costs (Russell & Jamieson, 2008).

Perhaps Amazon is taking employee perks to a whole new level! Opened in 2018, a greenhouse in downtown Seattle is meant to be a refuge for company employees. Constructed as a trio of spheres ranging from 3 to 4 stories tall, it houses more than 3,000 species of plants, along with aquariums of exotic fish. The spheres contain tree houses joined by a series of suspension bridges. Amazon hopes its employees will host meetings in the tree houses (Day, 2018).

Finally, a large collection of private organizations can be grouped under the heading of quasi-private (Table 14.4). These represent a special kind of private leisure resource, because while they exist to serve the needs and interests of their members, they also receive support from the public at large or a governmental agency. Organizations such as 4-H clubs and YMCAs (originally the Young Men's Christian Association) may receive government grants or public donations, and although they may have membership policies, participation cannot be denied on account of race, religion, ethnicity, sexual orientation, or income level. For example, there are 4-H clubs for urban residents, and people of any or no religious affiliation, as well as women, are welcome to join the YMCA.

Perhaps we can cite **campus recreation** as another example. Regardless of whether a college or university is privately or state affiliated, the leisure services offered on campuses are open not only to students but often also to faculty, staff, and the broader community. For example, serving over 25,000 students, recreation services at the University of Nebraska at Lincoln include fitness, outdoor adventures, intramural sports, swimming lessons, ballroom dance, and many others to help students cope with academic pressures, as well as to recruit new students—providing a vibrant campus community all around.

Campus recreation: Leisure services sponsored by colleges and universities for students and the campus community

Commercial Agencies

In contemporary societies, people are willing (and often eager) to pay for leisure services. In fact, commercial sponsorship of leisure is one of the largest and fastest growing areas of the leisure resource system. Commercial leisure organizations sell leisure experiences to make a profit. Total expenditures for commercially sponsored pastimes far exceed those for services offered by public and private agencies.

Leisure resources operated for commercial purposes include ski resorts, water parks, campgrounds, bowling centers, riding stables, health spas, hotels, restaurants, theatres, casinos, theme parks, sport stadiums, and music halls. In some cities, regions, states, and even nations, commercial leisure organizations are the primary industry.

Even with this variety, certain types of pastimes are regarded as the domain of commercial sponsorship. For example, commercial agencies are more likely to be associated with entertainment, popular culture, spectator sport, theme park, food and drink, and shopping facilities and programs. As a frequently glamorous resource for leisure, commercial services provide a magnitude of opportunities that round out the services offered by public and private sponsors. This is because commercial enterprises are able to offer activities considered too expensive for public and private sponsors and often more unique than people's everyday leisure expressions.

Commercial leisure organizations are also able to respond quickly to current trends and often more willing to take speculative risks, thus creating demands for new leisure resources. A good illustration of this is the wave pool. Commercial developers introduced the idea into the U.S. and demonstrated its ability to entice patrons to stay longer, return more often, and pay higher admission charges than they

would for conventional swimming pools (Chubb & Chubb, 1981). As a result, some public agencies, such as cities, now offer wave pools as standard services.

A relevant concept much bantered about today is the idea of *pay to play.* The phrase is used for a variety of situations (e.g., in music, online gaming, and sports) in which money is exchanged for services or the privilege to engage in certain activities. That is, one must pay to "get in the game." For example, some Internet games require that users pay to use them. Usually referring to MMORPGs (massively multiplayer online role-playing games), these games requires players to maintain a playing account, as in the case of *World of Warcraft*. Even public recreation and park sponsors are tempted to use this strategy in providing leisure services. Today, there is a fast-growing trend of publicly paid for and offered youth sports being replaced with youth sports requiring team and league fees, travel, equipment, and elite training, especially among well-off families.

In addition to the many benefits of commercial recreation, there are also criticisms. Basically, the prime complaint is the profit motive. Commercial establishments have been blamed for being too tempted by making money and thus disregarding the overall welfare of people. By actively advertising, they can create demands where none existed previously. Some commercial leisure resources (e.g., bars and adult bookstores) have also been blamed for the demise of a positive moral order in society. Those criticisms that ring true are, however, controlled. Regulations such as legal and trade boundaries, competition, and public opinion distinguish what is appreciated from what is not tolerated in commercial recreation. For example, a dishonest operation is likely to have to close when a responsible competitor opens for business.



Figure 14.9. The "Pines of Sarasota" hosts a volunteer pet therapy program. Last year the dogs and their owners devoted 396 hours of service with visits to residents in the assisted living, skilled nursing, and memory care units. © Patricia D. Setser.

Recreational Therapy

To conclude this section of the chapter, we will discuss one more form of leisure resource that combines everything already discussed. **Recreational therapy** services seek to restore or rehabilitate to improve the well-being of persons with illnesses or living with disabling conditions. Using travel, cultural arts, sports, and outdoor recreation, as well as social activities and hobbies, as part of a treatment regime, recreational therapists work for public, private, and commercial agencies. For example, commercial hospitals, private rehabilitation centers, nonprofit extended-care services, public recreation and park departments, colleges and universities, and many other kinds of sponsors use a wide range of leisure expressions as a tool for curing, improving, or accommodating conditions (Figure 14.9). For example, in hospice care, recreational therapy services assist the dying patient with an opportunity to increase a sense of control, social interaction, social supports, and task-oriented goals and by providing an appropriate medium for the expression of feelings as well as creativity.

Recreational therapy: The profession that provides recreation services as treatment for persons with illness or disabling conditions

Box 14.8 The Study Says

Music Therapy in Palliative Care

Eighty-four patients of a hospice care unit were randomly assigned to one of two interventions: live music therapy or prerecorded mindfulness exercise. Results indicated that there were higher levels of heart rate in the music therapy group. Also, music therapy caused significantly stronger reductions of pain and other stress-related symptoms (Warth, Kessler, Hillecke, & Bardenheuer, 2016).

Careers in the Leisure Services System

A career in the leisure services system can be gratifying and exciting. Just as the menu of leisure activity areas and leisure resource sponsors is numerous and varied, so are the options for employment within it. Park, recreation, sport, and tourism professionals plan, organize, and direct activities at all levels and settings. Table 14.5 highlights some of the positions available in a selection of settings. Some of the settings and functions overlap, thus creating an opportunity for flexibility.

Table 14.5
Selection of Employment Positions in the Leisure Services System

Outdoor Recreation and Resource Management	Park naturalist Outdoor education coordinator Outdoor resource manager Camp program leader Outdoor instructor Adventure leader Environmental education leader
Recreational Sport Management	Fitness instructor Amateur athletics director Industrial sports manager Collegiate sports leader Military/municipal recreational sport coordinator Resort visitor sport planner Sports leader in YMCAs/ Boys and Girls Clubs
Tourism Management	Meeting planning Special event planning Adventure travel company owner Commercial recreation facilities Governmental and military tourism divisions Hotels and resorts general manager Theme parks CEO Visitor and convention bureaus marketer
Public Recreation Management	Military recreation programming staff National parks and forests administrator State parks and forests ecologist Municipal parks and recreation YMCA activity specialist Scouting leader Boys and Girls Clubs

Table 14.5 continued

Recreational Therapy	Acute care facilities therapist Adult day care facilities programmer Assisted living facilities director Developmental learning centers coordinator Public and private medical hospitals therapist Mental health centers advocate Public recreation and park departments specialist Substance abuse centers director

Employment of recreation workers is projected to grow 10% from 2014 to 2024, faster than the average for all occupations. For example, as more emphasis is placed on the importance of exercise, more recreation professionals will be needed to work in local government park and recreation departments, fitness centers, sports centers, and camps specializing in younger participants (Bureau of Labor Statistics, n.d.).

So how do you get into one of these careers? The education, training, and experience required varies widely depending on the type and level of the position. Full-time career options for administrative positions or for large organizations usually require at least a 4-year university bachelor's degree, preferably in a parks and recreation or leisure studies program, although in some situations a liberal arts degree is accepted. Many positions in direct service with customers and clients minimally require an associate's degree in parks and recreation or related fields, and master's and doctoral degree programs are also available for executive, professor, and research positions.

What might you study in a university degree program in the leisure fields? Your knowledge and skill base will need to be broad and multidisciplinary. For example, if you dream of working within the tourism system, in addition to recreation management content you will also want to focus on underlying themes such as geography, history, ecology, sociology, psychology, business management, anthropology, marketing, agriculture, political science, and economics.

Box 14.9 In Profile

Professional Preparation History

One of the earliest leadership training programs specifically for leisure was an 1880s summer school conducted by Luther Gulick, then a professor of physical education for the School of Christian Workers (now Springfield College) in Massachusetts (Butler, 1965). By 1905, Gulick had joined the faculty of New York University and offered the first university course on play, which included units on sports, games, theory of toys, and play and the exceptional child (Sessoms, 1993).

Later, the awareness of the need for special training for recreation leaders increased, resulting in a 1-year graduate curriculum sponsored by the National Recreation Association. Known as the National Recreation School, founded in 1926 it confirmed the desirability of educating professionals in the functional use of leisure. Its curriculum included the construction and planning of play facilities and the administration of city and county recreation departments. It graduated over 295 students in its 9 years of operation.

Professional preparation programs in leisure soon began to appear within the curricula of forestry, education, social work, and physical education at universities across North America. Among the first were the University of Minnesota (1937) and the University of North Carolina (1939). Quickly, other colleges and universities began to offer specialized and separate undergraduate degrees in leisure.

Today, accredited professional preparation programs in leisure (associate's through doctoral) are provided in more than 71 colleges and universities (National Recreation and Park Association, n.d.). The predominant subjects of study include recreation management, programming and leadership, outdoor recreation and resource management, commercial and tourism services, therapeutic recreation, and recreational sport management.

Although a degree can be helpful, for many seasonal and part-time positions, such as camp counselors and activity specialists, on-the-job training, specialized training, or experience in an activity area, such as art, music, drama, or athletics is also necessary. Many full-time, part-time, and seasonal positions also prefer applicants with work experience, including volunteer positions and internships. As well, some leisure system jobs require certification, ranging from a lifesaving credential for water-related programs to national certification for recreational therapy positions.

What We Understand About Leisure Systems

Leisure is a significant institution in contemporary societies. It includes a wide range of leisure expressions and structures. Once chiefly the responsibility of the family, leisure services have become the responsibility of a number of organizations, loosely formed into the leisure services system. From reading this chapter you should know the following:

- Leisure services are sponsored by public, private, and commercial organizations.
  Name and describe a public, private, and commercial organization with which you have experience.
- These sponsors include cities, hospitals, correctional institutions, the armed forces, universities, retail businesses, clubs, and thousands of others.
  Select one of the examples you cited above and describe its leisure services.
- The leisure experiences provided by these sponsors primarily include outdoor recreation, cultural arts, travel, sports, hobbies, and social recreation.
  Give an example of a leisure service in each of these program areas.
- Preparation for a career in leisure systems requires formal education and training, experience, and sometimes certifications.
  For a specific position that interests you in leisure services, what are the preparation requirements?

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